

Summary # 2622

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11 August 1960

8 July 1960

COMMUNIST REVISIONISM AND DISSIDENCE (1)

This report contains material on Communist revisionism and dissidence as reflected in Communist and non-Communist sources.

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I. USSR

Attacks on Revisionism and Instances of Deviation

Contemporary revisionism as a political-theoretical movement -- with its denial of the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the belief that capitalism can develop without crises that become progressively more violent; the profession that Stalinism is a specific political-economic system; the belief that a gradual transition to socialism is possible through reforms rather than by revolution; denial of the economic role of the socialist state and of democratic centralism; disagreement with the Soviet concept of proletarian internationalism; and denial of the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union -- has apparently ceased to exist, on the surface at least, in the USSR. This, of course, is not the case with other countries. Soviet mass media, especially the press, have therefore instigated, on all levels, concerted attacks against revisionism as expressed by Western and bloc Marxists.

Highly placed official writers as well as minor authors have participated in antirevisionist attacks. These press attacks, although voluminous and at times vitriolic, have been fairly moderate for the most part. Soviet leadership, apparently, does not consider current revisionism emanating from outside its borders as a formidable threat to its hegemony in the Communist movement, but it does not underestimate the miasmatic potential revisionism can develop. Therefore, it has brought to broad public attention this potential in Section Five of the currently influential Soviet theoretical text, Osnovy Marksizma-Leninizma (Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism), Moscow, 1959, entitled "Teachings on Socialism and Communism," which treats critically the problem of revisionist ideas. Another widely disseminated book pointing out the dangers of revisionism is V Chem Opasnost' Sovremennogo Revizionizma (In What Is the Danger of Contemporary Revisionism), by I. A. Khlyabich, Moscow, 1960.

Soviet antirevisionist literature is geared to attack all philosophic, aesthetic, and political deviations, but primarily the principal "revisionist misconceptions" concerning the indispensability of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the natural growth of capitalism into socialism, laws governing the transition from socialism to Communism, democratic centralism, and, primarily, the leading role of the CPSU.

This antirevisionist literature has become, interestingly enough, even more voluminous in the USSR during the first quarter of 1960 than in the last 6 months of 1959. The growing importance of this problem is evident to the reader from the length of the following list: Tvorcheskiy Marksizm i Pustotsvety Revisionizma (Creative Marxism and the Sterility of Revisionism), by Z. I. Gershkovich, Leningrad, 1960; Nekotoryye Problemy Perekhoda ot Sotsializma k Kommunizmu (Certain

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Problems of the Transition From Socialism to Communism), by S. P. Pervushin, Moscow, 1960; Chto Takoye Sotsializm i Imeyet li on Pochvu u Nas? Marksizm ili Bernshteyniansstvo? Opportunizm ili Sotsializm? K Marksizmu. Diktatura ili Demokratiya? (What Is Socialism and Does It Have Roots in Our Country? Marxism or Bernsteinism? Opportunism or Socialism? Toward Marxism. Dictatorship or Democracy?), by D. Vlagoyev (translated from Bulgarian), Moscow, 1960; Protiv Revizionizma v Estetike (Against Revisionism in Aesthetics), edited by F. I. Kaloshin and D. F. Kozlov, Moscow, 1960; B. Ponomarev, F. Konstantinov, and Yu. Antropov, "On the Old Revisionist Positions," Kommunist, No 8, May 1960; V. Kirsanov, "Leninism -- Trusty Weapon in the Struggle With Contemporary Revisionism," Partiynaya Zhizn', No 8, April 1960; V. Gabuniya, "All-Conquering Marxist-Leninist Teachings," Molodoy Kommunist, No 3, March 1960; unsigned article, "Party Discipline and Party Democracy," Partiynaya Zhizn', No 1, January 1960.

As has been pointed out, there is no reason to assume that the critique of revisionism is of great concern to the Soviet leaders, although some of its theoretically least important aspects may be, such as the interpretation of the term "peaceful coexistence." Another possible source of concern may be in the steadily mounting number of unorthodox literary efforts, which have appeared in such periodicals as Literaturnaya Gazeta, Novyy Mir, and other less significant provincial literary journals. These heterodox literary works are by no means revisionistic. They are, rather, deviations from the officially accepted and proscribed codes adopted for the correct literary interpretation of life in a Communist society. But that Soviet leaders are concerned over the publication of these "deviationistic" literary efforts can be seen from the numerous attacks and criticisms against them.

A meeting of Communist writers in Leningrad, reported in Literaturnaya Gazeta, 10 November 1959, severely criticized Sergey Voronin's story "In His Native Village" (V Rodnykh Mestakh). Critics at the meeting said that the story could not be used to educate youth, that the basis of the story was the false idea of forgiveness for all, and that it demobilizes the reader rather than educates him. A. Reshetov tried to justify the story on "psychological grounds," and Voronin himself rejected all criticism directed at his story. Everyone present, however, acknowledged the story to be ideologically detrimental and called on the party committee to discuss the work of the journal Neva, which published the story in its September 1959 issue. The story dealt rather sympathetically with a man who had been a traitor during World War II.

Yevgeniy Yevtushenko's poem, "Consider Me a Communist" (Schitaute Menya Komunistom), published in Yunost', No 2, February 1960, was criticized by D. Zaslavskiy in Pravda, 28 February 1960. The hero of the poem demands to be considered a Communist because he is fighting petty, insignificant people who formerly had persecuted Mayakovskiy and

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are now persecuting other "genuine" poets. Zaslavskiy, noted for his bitter attacks on individuals in especial disfavor with party critics, criticized Yevtushenko for not broadening his horizons in the poem and for not choosing a more serious theme.

M. Kirillov, in Literaturnaya Gazeta, 13 February 1960, criticized Yevtushenko for exaggerating the seamy side of Soviet life and for seeing scoundrels everywhere. According to Kirillov, the poem showed the poet's ideological immaturity and lack of experience in life, and a deafness to all that is new and has become a part of the country in recent years. Yevtushenko was further criticized by V. Bushin, who stated in Literatura i Zhizn', 4 March 1960, that the poet had adopted a "romantic pose" which is both invented and false.

V. Oskotskiy, Yu. Surovtsev, and A. Yakubov, correspondents for Literaturnaya Gazeta, in an article on 24 March 1960, criticized the novelette Tropinki (The Paths), by S. Zunnanova, which had appeared in the Uzbek literary journal Shark Yulduzi, because of its collection of morally depraved people. The author of the novelette seemed to believe that one cannot move along the broad road of Communism without passing through mistakes and delusions or passing over steep and twisting paths, and the more people stumble the better they will be.

In an article in the 14 April 1960 issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta, A. Salynskiy, secretary of the Board of Writers Union, USSR, bitterly criticized the play "Five Evenings" (Pyat' Vecherov), by A. Volodin, and said that life is poor and uninspired for Volodin's heroes. They see nothing interesting for themselves in the grand life of the country; they have a sense of futility. Volodin is guided by the idea that a person is to be appreciated for himself alone and not for what he has done. According to Salynskiy, the play's author needed a more powerful inspiration, a feeling of civic spirit, and a deeper understanding of socialist humanism.

In a Moskovskaya Pravda article of 29 January 1960, V. I. Ustinov, first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, criticized O. Skachkov, author of the play "Thieves of Silence" (Vzломshchiki Tishiny), for imitating A. Volodin and for depicting his characters as banal because of their spiritual insignificance and prevalence of irresponsibility regarding the moral and ethical foundations of man.

A criticism of V. Tendryakov's novelette, Troika, Semerka i Tuz (A Trey, a Seven, and an Ace), Novyy Mir, No 3, March 1960, by D. Starikov, in Literatura i Zhizn', 15 April 1960, revolved around Tendryakov's description of workers not as individuals but as weapons of work, and his incorrect knowledge of the life of ordinary workers.

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On 29 April 1960, Pravda carried the final three chapters of A. Tvardovskiy's poem "Distance Beyond Distance" (Za Dal'yu-Dal'); the same three chapters were also published in Novyy Mir, No 5, May 1960. Of these, the second and longest chapter is a rather sober account of various aspects of the Stalin era. In this chapter Tvardovskiy contrasts the general situation under Stalin with the post-Stalin period, and the contrast is sharp and clear. Under Stalin all was dull, dark, and foreboding, while in the post-Stalin period all is light, gay, and dynamic. The poem was reviewed in Literaturnaya Gazeta, 17 May 1960, and in Literatura i Zhizn', 13 May 1960. What is interesting here is that both reviews speak only of the first and third chapters of the final three, and omit the second which concerns the Stalin era. Does this imply that Soviet leaders are still so concerned with comments on Stalin that it is best not to mention him at all, and that those who do are unorthodox?

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II. FAR EAST

China

Disagreement With Soviet Policy; Deviation Among Intellectuals

The Chinese Communists have always been alert to domestic revisionism among the intellectuals and to international revisionism and its disruptive effects on the solidarity of the socialist camp, but the high points of Chinese concern have been during the "bloom and contend" period and after the Hungarian revolution, both in 1956, and during late 1959 and early 1960, when the Chinese made no effort to hide their disagreement with the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

By 1959, the Chinese, of course, had already won Soviet acquiescence to a certain degree of independence in policies and in ideology, but even against such a background, the 1959-1960 statements have been very strong. In the article "Long Live Leninism" by the editorial board, in the 15 April issue of Hung Ch'i, the then current views of the Soviet Union on the possibility of peace with the capitalists were lumped together with positions that could apply only to the Yugoslav revisionists. This lumping together can be interpreted as an effort to make the article's reference to the Soviet Union less obvious, but may also be a deliberate insult.

The editorial board dealt with a very wide range of subjects, but its opinions may be summed up as opposition to any stand that tends to slow down the revolution (in the "oppressed countries" as well as in the capitalist countries) or dilute revolutionary elan. The board, speaking mainly to the USSR, declared as revisionist the sacrificing of long-range for immediate interests, belief in a change of heart for peace by the capitalists, belief that peace is possible while capitalism exists, and belief that force is not needed to effect the transition to socialism.

The board's stand was summed up in the following passage:

"The members of our Communist Party are struggling to protect world peace and to realize the policy of peaceful coexistence. At the same time, we are supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples against imperialism. We are supporting the revolutionary wars of the oppressed peoples for liberation and social progress. We do so because these revolutionary wars are righteous. Naturally, we must also continue to explain to the masses Lenin's thesis on the bourgeois imperialist system as the source of modern war and Marxism-Leninism's thesis of the final goal of our struggles as the replacement of imperialism with socialism and communism. We must not cover up our principles when before the masses." (Hung Ch'i, No 8, 16 Apr 60, p 27)

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The Chinese stand has been propagated in publications below the national level as well as in foreign attention-catching periodicals like Hung Ch'i. An article in the 1 April issue of Li-lun Hsueh-hsi, official organ of the Liaoning provincial party committee published in Shen-yang, repeats almost all the points taken up in "Long Live Leninism" in slightly different words, which, if anything, makes the disagreement of the Chinese more explicit.

In domestic revisionism, the journals directed at the intellectuals, such as the Peiping Hsin Chien-she, and the literary journals, such as the Tientsin Hsin Kang and the Peiping Wen-i Pao, have frequently carried articles which "refuted," "criticized," or "discussed" opinions and theories of various intellectuals. Hsin Chien-she, especially, seems to have this as one of its regular functions. Among the personalities criticized to varying degrees since the beginning of 1959 have been Ma Yin-ch'u and Feng Yu-lan, both perennial favorites for such criticisms; Hou Wai-lu, for his theory on the "principle of the feudal productive relationships"; Kuo I-ts'en, for his theories on the nature of psychology; Chan Mu-shih, for his theory on the selective nature of the mind; Wu Ta-kun, for his views on American economic crises; Ho lin, for his theory on knowledge and action; Lu Shu-hsiang, for leaving reality when studying grammar, Fu Ssu-nien, for his reactionary viewpoint and method in historical studies; and Chu Ming-ch'ien, for his old concepts on the study of art.

At present, the main object of attacks (since the attacks on Ma Yin-ch'u for repeating his stand on birth control have subsided) is Pa Jen (Wang Jen-shu), a prominent literary figure who has been given appropriate official posts in the past. During the "bloom and contend" period, Pa Jen had taken advantage of the temporary relaxation of bans on the expression of dissenting views to write a short article entitled "On Human Sentiments," published in Hsin Kang; the article criticized proletarian literature as being devoid of human sentiments and full of politics, and advocated instead of class struggle a search for those human sentiments which are common to everyone. He said that "Class society suppresses the basic nature of mankind and therefore we have class struggle. I think that things are just like this." (From a reprint of his article in Wen-i Pao, No 2, 26 Jan 60, p 42)

Why has the regime taken up his case again after 4 years? The 26 January 1960 issue of Wen-i Pao, besides publishing the reprint of Pa Jen's article, carries two criticisms of him. The April issue of Hsin Chien-she has another criticism. The late March issue of Tung-feng, the organ of the Hopeh provincial party committee, carries yet another criticism.

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The question is answered by Li Hsi-fan, in Hsin Chien-she, as follows: "The problem is not in the article 'On Human Sentiments,' because its reactionary and false viewpoint has already been exposed and criticized by many comrades. Nor is the problem only in the fact that this is actually an old weapon of the bourgeoisie. The problem is how is it that this corrupt theory of human nature can still form a kind of opposition current to confront socialist letters? Seen from one point of view, Pa Jen is still not completely isolated. When Pa Jen published his article, the Shanghai Wen-i Yueh-pao published Ch'ien Ku-yung's 'On "Letters Is the Study of Man."' Wasn't this also 'the using of the same thing' to propagate the idea that so-called 'humanitarianism' is the motive power for the development of letters, and idea that has been propagated before?" (Hsin-chien-she, No 4, Apr 60, p 17)

Pa Jen's stand is criticized by Yao Wen-yuan in Wen-i Pao thus: "The 'people' of Pa Jen, stripped of their camouflage, are the 'person' of capitalist individualism, the 'person' of capitalist human nature. Why is it that in this period, 'people' are especially the object of his 'attention' and 'concern'? It is because after the capitalist class had lost its economic foundation, the people who were determined to keep the capitalist world viewpoint to the end felt that capitalist individualism is the opposite of socialist revolution and were unwilling to abandon the capitalist world viewpoint for the proletarian world viewpoint, so naturally, they increased their 'attention and concern' in regard to the problem of how to maintain and protect the 'social existence' of capitalist human nature. Revisionism in art is generally one of the manifestations of the struggle between the capitalists and the proletariat, and is extremely clever." (Wen-i Pao, No 2, 26 Jan 60, p 31-41)

Indonesia

Denial of Revisionism

The official position of the PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) concerning the possibility of revisionist tendencies within the party was categorically stated by D. N. Aidit, chairman of the Central Committee, in an article on the Sixth National Party Congress in the September-October 1959 issue of Bintang Merah. The full text of the pertinent passage follows:

"The Sixth National Congress condemned the disgusting practices of the Tito clique of modern revisionists who, in words, profess to be outside the imperialist camp but who in actual fact assist the imperialists in trying to split the international anticolonial and peace-loving front by slanderous the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, to split

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the international Communist and working class movement, to split the movement for national independence by drawing over to their side naive leaders of the national bourgeoisie in newly independent Asian and African countries.

"It is a fact that the revisionism of the Tito clique does not find the slightest response in the Communist Party of Indonesia. This does not mean, however, that the Indonesian Communists may remain passive in the fight against this dangerous deviation. The Indonesian Communists have the international duty to save the international working class movement, to continually strengthen the international anticolonial and peace-loving front. Besides this, chauvinism fanned by the right wing of the Indonesian national bourgeoisie is soil on which the reactionary ideas of the revisionists can grow and this constitutes a threat against the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideology within the PKI."

The most interesting feature of these remarks is the degree to which Aidit is concerned with revisionism's appeal to the national bourgeoisie. This is a very natural concern, for, on the one hand, revisionist ideas are not apt to persuade the nationalist "middle forces" of the merits of participation in the national united front, which remains the basic tactic of the PKI; and on the other hand, the PKI is a party whose cadres are themselves largely of bourgeois or landlord origin. They have not as yet been thoroughly indoctrinated with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and, by the party's own admission, fall easy prey to the attacks launched on the philosophical fortress of the working class by the "imperialists" and the national bourgeoisie. As the last paragraph quoted above suggests, this threat of contamination is particularly serious when the principle of proletarian internationalism must compete against the appeal of a campaign such as that currently being waged against the Chinese by the Indonesian nationalists.

It should be noted, however, that whatever dissension may exist within the PKI, it is extremely rare for an open debate or clash of opinions to occur between the proponents of either a more radical or a more reformist viewpoint than that held by the present middle-of-the-road leadership. During the past 4 years, there have been only two instances where open disagreement on party policy was noted within the party press. In June and July 1956, the economic editor of Harian Rakjat wrote three articles expounding the concept of "incomplete socialism" which showed the influence of the Yugoslav experience. At the fourth plenary session of the Central Committee in August 1956, these ideas were condemned and the PKI's adherence to orthodox Marxism-Leninism reaffirmed. (See Summaries No 1095, 11 October 1956, and No 1331, 14 May 1957, for coverage of this controversy.) Then, on 8 January 1959, Harian Rakjat published a rebuke issued by the executive of the PKI Constituent Assembly fraction to Alimin, former secretary-general of the party, for writing a pamphlet in which he expressed what might loosely be termed "Stalinist" views, criticizing the PKI for failing, among other things, to pursue

the class struggle. (See Summary No 2099, 19 March 1959, for the full text of this rebuke.) As regards revisionism itself, after an initial period of hesitation in the spring of 1958 concerning the proper attitude to take toward the Yugoslav heresy, the PKI eventually assumed a completely orthodox position which it has steadfastly maintained in the ensuing years. (See Summaries No 1898, 10 September 1958, and No 2223, 25 June 1959.)

Nonetheless, despite the lack of material actually expressing revisionist or other dissident opinions and despite, or perhaps because of, the party's own protestations of ideological unanimity, passages such as the Aidit statement quoted above lead one to suspect that all is not quite as unanimous as the party would like it to appear. Occasionally, there are even indications that basic party policies have been questioned. An example of this is to be found in the political report to the eighth plenary session of the Central Committee in August 1959, when Aidit remarked that some party members asked why they should support the new cabinet's program since it was not a gotong-rojong cabinet, thus implying that the validity of continuing to pursue a united front policy had been questioned because it had failed to pay off by gaining Communist participation in the cabinet, and suggesting that some party members would like to pursue a more radical policy. On the other hand, there have been hints that the party is beset by rightist as well as leftist deviation. In an article on the sixth national congress written for the 9 September 1959 Harian Rakjat, Central Committee member A. Anwar Sanusi issued what sounded very much like a warning to comrades who might be carried away by the cooperative and constructive tactics currently being pursued by the PKI when he said, "Service to the people...is only one aspect of the Communists' responsibility because opportunism or reformism is of course not the PKI's nature. It is only a part, although an important part, of the class struggle which is consistently but quietly practiced by the Indonesian Communists."

The party's response to possible opposition to the present line has been twofold. On the one hand, at its recent sixth congress, such persons as Wikana and Tan Ling Djie, who in the past have opposed the policies associated with Aidit, were elected to positions on the party's executive bodies. Even Alimin went so far as to become a member of the congress presidium. This may indicate that previous disagreements with these proponents of a harder line have been resolved. However, it may be simply a stratagem for exercising closer control over known dissidents, as simultaneously, there has been increased emphasis within the party literature on democratic centralism and all that it implies. (See, for example, Utarjo's article in the July-August 1959 Bintang Merah, as published in Summary No 2503, 18 March 1960.) In an article on the PKI Peasants Conference by B. O. Hutapea, which appeared in the June 1959 issue of Bintang Merah, it was made quite clear that where ideological training fails to

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re-educate party cadres with erroneous views, they will be replaced "if this is necessary in order to break down the ideological barriers standing in the way of implementing the political tasks of the party."

However, since the PKI's main difficulty in achieving ideological conformity results from a simple lack of knowledge on the part of its members rather than from opposition based on principle, primary stress is placed on education rather than discipline. At present, there is an intensive campaign within the party to strengthen its Marxist-Leninist foundations. Adequate training in orthodox Communist theory will help to destroy the "remnants of bourgeois ideology" which continue to plague the PKI and will presumably prevent the development of revisionist ideas by filling the vacuum which now exists with the correct philosophy. Certainly, a relatively high level of theoretical sophistication is needed to follow the complicated reasoning used to determine, for example, the present stage of the Indonesian revolution. Therefore, it might be an exaggeration to conclude, from the amount of attention given to such a problem in the party literature or even from the admission that there are people who do not understand the bourgeois-democratic nature of the Indonesian revolution at the present stage, that there is actual resistance to the present leadership's line on this or any other basic issue on theoretical grounds. Consequently, at least until such time as the PKI's program of ideological training has been carried out, it may be possible to accept Aidit's claim that there is no revisionism within the PKI. Except for the anonymous economic editor of Harian Rakjat, the only identifiable spokesmen of an opposition group within the party have been leftist rather than rightist deviationists, and again considering the present low level of theoretical competence, it is open to question whether there is any prospective dissident within the PKI capable of formulating a genuine revisionist position in Marxist-Leninist terms.

North Vietnam

Adherence to Moscow Ideology; Role of Literature

A survey of recent issues of a wide range of overt North Vietnamese source materials (see list at end of this section), including the daily organ and the monthly theoretical journal of the Lao Dong Party and the journals of various other literary organizations, does not lead to identification of any forces or elements within the country which can be labeled as revisionist. Nor does this survey clearly indicate that any of the policies or lines being followed by the party or government diverge from the orthodox positions maintained by Moscow. One major gap, however, restricts the validity of this conclusion. This gap arises from the limited availability and the relative ignorance of the literary works which are being published in North Vietnam. Their scope and character

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remain largely unknown; hence this survey is unable to provide any real answer now to the question of whether or not they may be serving as vehicles, as is the case in some East European Satellites, for the more subtle expression or enunciation of revisionist or dissident opinions that may prevail within the country.

The survey made here generally supports the conclusion that the party and the regime in North Vietnam remain faithful to the ideological orthodoxy as dictated by Moscow, and are in "good standing" in denouncing revisionism. There is no lack of evidence to document this. In April, for example, wide press coverage was given to marking the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth and to the 15th anniversary of the liberation (in 1945) of Hungary from the "fascist yoke." Nhan Dan, daily organ of the Lao Dong Party, on 1 April carried an editorial entitled "We Must Realize the Real Significance of the 90th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth." This editorial asserted that "the best way to celebrate Lenin's coming 90th birthday is to endeavor to study Marxism-Leninism and to learn from the life and work of Lenin.... After Marx and Engels, Lenin was the greatest leader of the Communist and workers parties, of the working class, and of laboring people the world over." Quoting President Ho Chi Minh, Nhan Dan added that "the name of Lenin and his philosophy are closely related with each victory of the camp of peace and democracy, which stretches from the Elbe to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the tropics." Continuing, the editorial declared that "throughout the world, the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has become more united and single-minded than ever before."

In connection with the anniversary of the Hungarian liberation, Nhan Dan on 4 April editorially praised the Hungarian people's determination in "smashing the 1956 counterrevolutionary violence, the distortions and disruptive plots, the cajolery and sabotage of the imperialist gang headed by the reactionary Americans.... This testifies to the great vitality of the new regime and to the Hungarian people's attachment to their revolutionary success, to their vanguard party, and to the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.... The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, headed by Janos Kadar, is now more united and mightier than ever before. Its relations with the masses have grown closer and closer. The party has basically triumphed in the ideological struggle over revisionism on the one hand, and over sectarianism and dogmatism on the other."

Of some pertinence to the subject under survey was an article in the April issue of Hoc Tap, the party's monthly theoretical journal, by A. F. Okulov, editor of the Soviet journal Voprosy Filosofii (Philosophical Problems). This article, entitled "Lenin's Great Contributions to the Development of Marx's Philosophy," was written especially for Hoc Tap, presumably in connection with the 90th anniversary observances. Okulov accused opportunists of believing that there are evils in capitalism but that they need merely wait and capitalism would be changed into socialism

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by peaceful means and without class struggle. He quotes Lenin's attack on revisionism on the grounds that "the ideological source of revisionist philosophy is the denial of Marxist principles on the party spirit of philosophy...and the denial of the absolute truth that Marxist political principles are closely related...to the Marxist philosophical theories."

In the field of literary activity in North Vietnam in recent months, an article in the February 1960 issue of Nghien Cuu Van Hoc (Literary Studies), by an unidentified author named Nam Moc discusses at length the character and role of literature in a socialist society.

In this article Nam Moc quotes Vice-Premier and Politburo member Truong Chinh as saying: "Marxism-Leninism contends that in a class society, literature reflects the class struggle, is certainly possessed of a class spirit, and serves an obvious political line.... Our literature is definitely on the side of our national interests and those of the working people, and acknowledges the leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. This is a characteristic of the Vietnamese artistic and literary movement in our present era. It also demonstrates the party-mindedness of the literature of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

In further explaining Truong Chinh's statement, Nam Moc outlines the precepts and rules which should govern Vietnamese authors in their writing. These are:

1. "A literature possessed of party-mindedness is primarily a literature for the service of the revolution.... Literature must remain close to the tasks and responsibilities of the revolution."
2. "The revolution under the leadership of the party aims at nothing but liberating the working class and laboring people from oppression and exploitation. Therefore, when we say that literature must serve the revolution, we mean also that literature must serve the people."
3. "A literary work imbued with party-mindedness is one which makes the people stronger in some way after they have read it: with greater steadfastness in viewpoint, greater knowledge of their friends and enemies, more love for the regime, more hatred for the US-Diem clique, more love for socialism, more hatred of capitalism, more love for collectivism, more hatred for individualism, more love for work, more hatred for exploitation, more faith in the party, and more enthusiasm for the implementation of its policies."

The author then explained that for a writer or artist to be party-minded he must:

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1. "Primarily, penetrate the social life of the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers.... Under our regime, the working people are the masters of society; therefore, the arts must reflect the working people's thoughts, sentiments, and actions in all aspects; they must describe the most progressive workers, peasants, and soldiers in production and in the class struggle."

2. "Understand the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and the party lines and policies, so that he can reflect reality."

3. "Respect the party leadership in every aspect. Party-mindedness in literature can be realized only through party leadership. This is only natural. There is no reason why literature, which is an essential part of revolutionary work, should not be under the leadership of the party because revolutionary work as a whole is under its leadership.... The party has educated the writer in Marxism-Leninism, in lines and policies, in the revolutionary spirit, and in the spirit of serving the people;... and the party has encouraged writers to penetrate into realities, and to penetrate into the masses. By doing this, the party has created favorable conditions under which writers can produce good works."

In the papers and periodicals surveyed, there is no evidence that any of the contributors do not adhere rigidly to all the stipulations mentioned above. On the other hand, such stipulations, especially made by one as powerful in the party as Truong Chinh, might be construed as a warning to those in North Vietnam who might have revisionist tendencies.

Sources

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Hoc Tap Tai Lieu Dieh (Studies of Translated Documents), an organ of Vietnam Lao Dong Party used primarily for cadre training, Mar, Apr 60

Van Hoc (Culture), weekly organ of Vietnam Writers Association, 22, 29 Apr 60

Thoi Su Pho Thong (Popular Current Events), reported to be official semi-monthly organ of Lao Dong Party Central Committee's Propaganda and Training Department, No 6 and 7, 1960

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Van Nghe (Arts and Letters), official organ of Vietnam Arts and Letters Association, Feb 60

Van Nghe Quan Doi (Army's Culture), official monthly organ of Vietnam People's Army, Mar, Apr 60

Nghien Cuu Van Hoc (Cultural Studies) (first issue published in January 1960 by Van Hoc Publishing Company), Feb 60

Outer Mongolia

Relations With Soviet Union and China; Internal Dissension

Very few individual commentaries on party ideology by Mongolians appear in the press. Internal party differences have existed and still do exist, but most of them seem to be based on personal interests. Marxist-Leninist ideology at the international level is interpreted by most Mongols as that which is defined by the Soviet authorities. In recent times the Mongols have also supported the three red banners of the People's Republic of China, i.e., the general line, the big leap forward, and the people's communes. There has been no effort to analyze any contradictions between Soviet and Chinese interpretations of the meaning of Marxism-Leninism.

Relations With Soviet Union

Political and economic contract with the Soviet Union has been longer and more intimate than with any other socialist country. At present, all major speeches of N. Khrushchev and his associates are translated in full and published, frequently in the official newspaper, Unen. Khrushchev's comments on foreign affairs are accepted verbatim. Condemnation of the U-2 plane incident, for example, follows the Soviet line. Political theory is discussed in the party journal, Namiin Amidral (Party Life). It strongly supports decisions with regard to international solidarity as expressed at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in Moscow, January-February 1959.

During May 1960, many articles appeared concerning Lenin and Leninism in honor of the 90th anniversary of his birth. Of the four published in Unen, two were written by Tomor-ochir, Chief Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Republic. Translations of Lenin's works are published regularly, and Marxism-Leninism is referred to constantly as the key to international party solidarity.

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Tsedenbal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, speaks fluent Russian, and in politics he is pro-Soviet.

J. Sambuu, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great National Hural, was touring European Satellite countries during May. In East Berlin he stated that the Mongolian People's Republic fully supported the principles of peaceful coexistence as proclaimed at the Bandung Conference. In the Soviet Union he was very well received by the authorities.

Relations With Communist China

Since 1952, relations between the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) and the People's Republic of China have been steadily improving. China, as well as the Soviet Union, has extended long-term credits to Mongolia from time to time for economic and technical aid. Recently the Mongolian press has tended to support the policies inaugurated early in 1958 by the Chinese government. On 6 April 1960, Unen published a translation of an article by Yu Chao-li, which first appeared in the Peiping Hung Ch'i. Its subject was "Imperialism as the Source of War and the Struggle of the Peoples of the World to Maintain Peace." Lenin is quoted with regard to "special conditions" which require "special reforms." On 15 May 1960, Unen published an article by S. Choyjamts, member of the delegation from the Great National Hural visiting China. It praised the successful development of the Hung-hsing (Red Star) Commune near Peiping, stating that "the great leap forward and the victory of the people's communes are a great tribute to Marxism-Leninism and to the People's Republic of China."

On 7 May 1960, an information agreement was signed by representatives of the Mongolian People's Republic and the People's Republic of China. The persons involved were J. Dzunduy, chairman of the Information and Broadcasting Administration of the Mongolian People's Republic, and Mei Yi, chairman of the Broadcasting Administration of the People's Republic of China.

Articles which were complimentary to Chinese economic policies preceded the arrival of Chou En-lai at Ulan Bator on 27 May 1960. The purpose of his visit was to draw up a Sino-Mongolian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance. He was greeted at the airport by Tsedenbal; J. Sambuu; L. Tsende, Second Secretary of the Central Committee; and D. Molomjamts, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers. He was accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen I. Many other people were present.

On arrival, Chou En-lai remarked that his last visit to Mongolia was in 1954; he then proceeded to condemn "US imperialism, which wrecked the summit conference in Paris." Tsedenbal welcomed him heartily and in his speech referred several times to the wise leadership of Mao Tse-tung. Chou En-lai remained in Mongolia for several days, and after the signing of the treaty left Ulan Bator by special plane on 1 June 1960.

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During his stay in Mongolia Chou En-lai made the following statements:

1. The US is reviving West German and Japanese militarism.
2. The US military treaty with Japan was passed illegally in the Japanese lower house because of pressure from the Kishi government.
3. China and Mongolia take a strong stand against the type of aggression committed by the US in the Soviet Union.
4. During the past year, the US Air Force and Navy have continued to violate the territorial air and waterways of China.
5. The efforts of the imperialists, modern revisionists, and reactionaries of all countries to sow dissension within the socialist camp has always been in vain.
6. China and Mongolia will always remain together within the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

At various banquets and gatherings, Tsedenbal made the following remarks:

1. The People's Republic of China has made tremendous contributions to the strengthening and consolidation of all peoples in the socialist camp with the aim of maintaining peace in Asia and throughout the world.
2. Mongolian and Chinese friendship is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.
3. The summit conference in Paris was wrecked by aggressive acts against the Soviet Union by the US.
4. Mongolia and China will struggle to defend the essence of Marxist-Leninist ideology against revisionism, the vital enemy of the international Communist movement.

A week after Chou En-lai had left Mongolia, the Mongolian news service announced that the Mongolian People's Republic supported the Soviet proposal on universal and total disarmament as a practical step toward maintaining the policy of coexistence of states with different social systems, as well as for further peaceful economic competition among these states. Despite the recent understanding with the Chinese, the Mongolian leaders have continued to emphasize the fact that their first loyalty is to the Soviet Union. However, the Sino-Mongolian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance contains the statement that "the contracting parties will consult with each other on all important international

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questions of common interest to the People's Republic of China and the Mongolian People's Republic." Since Mongolia is situated between China and the Soviet Union, a reasonable amount of compromise may be necessary to maintain a minimum amount of independence.

Internal Dissension (1937-1960)

Internal political dissension within the MPR has a long history. The issues giving rise to such dissension generally fall into the same pattern, namely, traditionalist and nationalist views as against subservience to either China or the Soviet Union. Three important personalities who were purged as a result of such dissension were Ts. Jamtsarano, Dashiin Damba, and Dr. B. Rinchin.

Jamtsarano was a noted scholar and popular figure in his country. Ardently nationalist and anti-Russian, he published many scholarly studies on Mongolian history and folklore. One of his works was on the Khalka Law from the Yuan Dynasty through the 17th Century. The original Mongolian text of this work appeared in 1921; a Russian translation, with explanatory notes, was issued later. Jamtsarano was sent to the University of Leningrad in the mid-1930s to work, presumably under N. N. Poppe. However, he became one of the first victims of a major purge and was sent to prison in 1937. He died in prison 2 years later.

Dashiin Damba was long a strong supporter of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). In April 1954, when Tsedenbal was released from his duty as first secretary of the party, Damba replaced him in this post. This move seemed to be an attempt to emphasize "collective leadership," because Tsedenbal retained his post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers. When the 12th Congress of the MPRP met in November 1954, it reappointed Damba as first secretary.

At the 13th Congress of the party in March 1958, Damba condemned the praise given the late Marshal Choybalsan, indicating that it violated the Leninist principles of "collective leadership." He also charged that certain "revisionist tendencies" existed among the Mongolian intelligentsia. His comments appeared to indicate a pro-Chinese Communist attitude. His attack on the "personality cult" also appeared to pose the question: did it also refer to Tsedenbal?

Late in October 1958, Tsedenbal visited Moscow. When he returned to Ulan Bator he again assumed the position of first secretary of the party. A meeting of the MPRP Central Committee late in November 1958 reduced Damba to his former position as second secretary. Four months later, he was dismissed from the Politburo. On 30 March 1959, he was expelled from the Presidium of the Great National Hural and disappeared from the public scene.

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Damba was excluded from the high councils of the MPRP "for lack of principles, conservatism and inertness, conceit and lack of critical attitude toward himself, and opportunism, accompanied by distortion and shortcomings in his work." On 4 April 1960, Unen published a long article discussing his defects, which made it clear that the name Damba was now a symbol of dissidence to be avoided at all costs for successful political development.

Dr B. Rinchin is a well-known scholar who still corresponds with many people in Europe and America. He is multilingual and was director of the Language and Literature Section in the Committee of Sciences of the MPR. He was removed from this post early in 1960 because of his obvious anti-Soviet views and his traditionalist and nationalist interests. Rinchin has stated that Mongolian studies have declined greatly since the death of Vladimirtsov and the exile of N. N. Poppe.

In the fall of 1959, Rinchin published Jamtsarano's Khalka Law (old Mongolian legal code). He was subsequently charged with inducing his students to be anti-Moscow. His chief opponent in the MPR was Tsevegmid, who made most of the charges against him and who claimed that the articles written by Rinchin were in the same spirit as those of Pasternak in the Soviet Union. Tsevegmid resigned his post as chairman of the Committee of Sciences, but was appointed First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Rinchin now lives alone (supported by his daughter, who is a teacher) and continues to work on Mongolian folklore studies. Some time ago he wrote a novel, Dawn in the Steppes (which has also appeared in Chinese, Korean, and Czech).

The latest action against Rinchin was a resolution passed by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the MPR criticizing his contradictory views. The resolution stated that Rinchin never accepted the new concepts of revolutionary socialism, nor did he ever sympathize with basic Marxist-Leninist ideology. It was pointed out that his patriotic and nationalistic views were merely a cover for his personal ambitions. His contradictory views were likened to those of Damba, who had already become a symbol for deviationist words and deeds.

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III. EASTERN EUROPE

East Germany

1. Published References to Ernst Friedrich Wollweber

The following survey is based on references to Ernst Wollweber found in scanning all available 1958, 1959, and 1960 issues of Neues Deutschland, the central party daily; Einheit, the monthly party journal; and Neuer Weg, the Central Committee organ on party life published twice a month.

It should be noted that, with the exception of comments found in the Neues Deutschland coverage of the 35th plenum proceedings of February 1958, almost all references to Wollweber were made in alliance with and frequently subordinate to the chief target of criticism, Karl Schirdewan. Thus, the "Schirdewan-Wollweber Group" or "the group made up of Schirdewan, Wollweber, and others" or the "Schirdewan, Wollweber, and Ziller Group" are variously referred to throughout 1958; references after 1958 were confined simply to the "Schirdewan Group." No unqualifiedly favorable comments regarding Wollweber were found. The following represent all excerpts directly referring to Wollweber as they appeared in the Neues Deutschland coverage of the 35th plenum of February 1958, at which Wollweber was removed from the Central Committee "in connection with his offenses against the party statute" and at which he was strongly censured (Neues Deutschland, 8 February 1958). These also represent the most substantive material found on Wollweber during this period.

8 February

"...Several comments on the attitude of Comrade Wollweber are necessary here. The Central Committee has been informed, in three meetings, of questions pertaining to the work of the Minister for State Security. Comrade Wollweber had falsely evaluated the situation. His false evaluations and ideas hindered the organs of the state security from executing its necessary tasks. Comrade Wollweber criminally neglected the fight against enemy agents. Investigations revealed that he failed in his work. Instead of doing his work, he tried to recruit other comrades for factional activity in the Schirdewan group. In the course of this factional activity, much foolish talk was spread. Enemy agents could acquire knowledge of internal party questions which they used against the party.

"Comrades Schirdewan, Wollweber, and others were obviously of the opinion that party policy, as it had been worked out by the Central Committee, would lead to problems. They speculated on the problems connected with the further development of socialist transformation of the GDR...." (From the Politburo report on the 35th plenum)

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25 February

"...Comrade Wollweber has said here [at the 35th meeting of the Central Committee] that he has no differences [of opinion] on the question of party policy and especially that he has not taken part in factional activity. One must try to make this clear. But we have had two discussions with Comrade Wollweber, in order to clarify matters.... Comrade Wollweber says he never placed Comrade Schirdewan in opposition to Comrade Ulbricht. No one said that he had...; nevertheless, the fact is that he has popularized Comrade Schirdewan as the coming man. ...We asked him [Wollweber]: You have certainly talked with Comrade Schirdewan on the situation in the Politburo?!' He answered: This I have also never disputed. I only dispute the fact that this is factional work.' But he did have discussions with Comrade Schirdewan on questions [being considered] in the Politburo. The question, therefore, is: How did Comrade Wollweber know that there are disputes and differences of opinion in the Politburo? About what have they talked?... The fact that Comrade Schirdewan not only had personal and friendly relations with Comrade Wollweber, but also spoke about all party questions and all questions on the situation in the Politburo, is clear. There can be no differences of opinion on this.

"...Comrade Wollweber feels himself to be falsely treated and has differences [of opinion]. All those who have differences find their way to each other...." (Hermann Matern, at the 35th plenum)

"...Comrade Schirdewan has obviously passed on false reports of certain decisions and discussions or disagreements within the Politburo. Yesterday Comrade Schirdewan said that he had not dealt with these differences outside the collective. But Comrade Wollweber knew of the differences within the Politburo. Comrade Wollweber and Comrade Schirdewan must answer the question: Where did Comrade Wollweber learn of these differences? Obviously from Comrade Schirdewan....

"Regarding Comrade Wollweber, this is my personal opinion: I have valued him as an old and experienced comrade and I am much younger than he and have also much less experience than he. But today I must say that Comrade Wollweber has played a ruinous role, and precisely because he has had so many great experiences in the class fight. Why did he not openly see to it that these differences were cleared up if he thought such differences existed? Why did he not come to the Politburo or to the Central Committee? It has already been said here that one cannot consider this anything other than distrust of the Central Committee.

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"Comrade Wollweber showed no initiative in issues where it was necessary precisely for stabilizing the republic and if I were to judge him today, I would say: He has failed politically and also morally; for he was certainly an old and experienced comrade with decades of party work [behind him] and should be a model [to others], like all old comrades...." (Willi Stoph, at the 35th plenum)

26 February

"...How does it happen that comrades who have had a responsible place in the revolutionary workers movement, such as Comrades Wollweber and Schirdewan, have gone astray on the road of factional work and deny what they themselves have taught in speeches and articles as the law of the party, as the law of stabilizing the republic?...

"At the basis of Comrades Schirdewan and Wollweber's concept lie a false evaluation of the political situation and a concept which is in opposition to the line of the Central Committee,...an underestimation of the imperialist danger, a tendency toward evolutionary development. The danger exists among old officials who have had great responsibility, that they do not become masters of themselves, that they either do not master the...desire toward power and arrogance or that when they receive a blow from the party for their behavior, they are in danger of falling into passivity and sulking silence. I believe these things play a role with Comrades Wollweber and Schirdewan; when such comrades cannot become masters of themselves, then the party must help them, and if this does not suffice, the party must bring them to this by means of the hardest measures...." (Franz Dahlem, at the 35th plenum)

An editorial in the 9 February 1958 issue of Neues Deutschland made the following accusation: "The entire course of the 35th meeting of the Central Committee brought clear proof that Comrades Schirdewan and Wollweber had serious vacillations in questions of principle and tactics of party policy and that, following repeated and sharp criticism by the Central Committee, they undertook an unprincipled and factional fight against the party leadership.... Schirdewan and Wollweber interpreted the results of the 20th Congress of the CPSU in an opportunistic manner. They did not realize that the tensions in Germany cannot be reduced if the GDR is not thoroughly stabilized and strengthened. Both had a false evaluation of the situation in the fall of 1956 and later. As a result, Schirdewan underestimated the subversive work of NATO directed against the GDR, the activity of hostile groups, and the penetration of bourgeois ideology. Wollweber's false evaluation of the situation led to a criminal neglect of the fight against enemy agents."

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The 22 February 1958 issue of Neues Deutschland pointed to increased production pledges in Bezirk Karl-Marx-Stadt as "proof of the workers' trust in...the party policy and as refutation of the gossip [Geschwaetz] of the opportunistic group of Schirdewan, Wollweber, and others." Politburo member Heinrich Rau was cited in the next day's issue of this paper as saying at a party activists meeting that the Schirdewan-Wollweber group tried to distort the Politburo formulations on the need to set up realistic plans and that this group sought to establish "soft plans" which would involve little difficulties and would slow down the rate of development. He also said, "the group of Schirdewan, Wollweber, and others considered the main task to be that of unconditional [ohne irgendwelche Vorbedingungen] reunification, thus, reunification at any price. The first task, however, is the socialist development of our country...."

An article in issue No 5, March 1958, of Neuer Weg said, "Schirdewan and Wollweber underestimated the intensification of the class fight which is taking place in our country under the conditions of the existence of two German states with different social systems. They minimized the...enemy and the existence of hostile groupings.... Schirdewan represented the dangerous theory of letting things develop by themselves and of opening valves [granting more freedom]. Comrade Wollweber interpreted several measures for the further development of our socialist democracy and for relaxing the international situation in such a way that he believed one could gradually abolish security measures against the class enemy." This same accusation was made against Wollweber in the March 1958 issue of Einheit.

In the 13 March 1958 issue of Neues Deutschland, it was pointed out that "to destroy German militarism, one should not strive for a balance between imperialism and socialism, as would have resulted from the concept of the Schirdewan-Wollweber group."

In the light of Wollweber's Communist resistance activity against the Nazis in World War II, the East German Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters published its complete support of the 35th plenum decisions in the 9 March 1958 issue of Neues Deutschland, in which it "sharply condemned the opportunistic group of Schirdewan, Wollweber, and others which, through the formation of a faction, tried in an underhanded way to change the party line and leadership.... It deeply moves us that those involved were Schirdewan, Wollweber, and Selbmann, former resistance fighters from whom we demand that they, in word and deed, draw the lessons from the past struggles of the German working class. The honorable title resistance fighter is deserved only by those who recognize also today the party leadership and protect the unity of the party...."

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In the minutes of the Seventh All-German Workers Conference, held in Leipzig in March 1958, Hermann Matern accused Wollweber again of neglecting his function as Minister of State Security, from which post Wollweber had resigned in October 1957 "for reasons of health." Following a statement ridiculing the idea of elections in East Germany, he said Schirdewan believed in "allowing all possible freedom in our country or opening valves," as he [Schirdewan] called it.... We have discussed these questions with these comrades [Schirdewan, Wollweber, and Oelssner] for almost 1 1/2 years and have tried to convince these comrades of the harm of their standpoint.... The comrades whom we have removed from our party leadership believed that we should go slowly in building socialism, in the interest of coming together with West Germany. This was the idea of Schirdewan and of Wollweber, who as Minister for State Security was of the opinion that we need hardly be on the alert, that nothing more could happen in our country. This is not true, although we are stable enough." Also contained in these minutes, which were published in the 18 March 1958 issue of Neues Deutschland, a Comrade Konrad from western Westphalia was quoted as saying that "particularly in the past few years, Wollweber has been violently criticized in the West German press; but in that moment when he and the others were removed from the Central Committee...Wollweber suddenly became the man of the West German press."

The May 1958 issue of Einheit went further, in the words of Kurt Hager, in accusing the "group of Schirdewan, Wollweber, and others of the belief that a development toward socialism without conflict was possible, i.e., this group was directed toward a policy of stagnation and preservation of the status quo, which would have ultimately led to restoration of capitalist elements.... They were oriented one-sidedly toward a broad democratization in the sense of a liberal development and underestimated the need of a constant fight against the enemies...."

An article by Alexander Abusch, Deputy Minister of Culture, in the June 1958 issue of Einheit says that the "important point about the group of Schirdewan, Wollweber, and others was not that they deviated ideologically...and condemned our party to a lack of influence, but that they represented the embodiment of revisionistic currents of 1956 as a factional group which represented (in many cases, unconsciously) a community of ideas."

Critical mention of the Schirdewan-Wollweber group continued through the Fifth Party Congress held in July 1958, but no essential additions were made to the above comments.

Judging from press references of this period, the effects of the Schirdewan-Wollweber group continued to be most apparent for a time among party and trade union officials in factories. Paul Verner, at the Fifth Party Congress, said (as reported in the 16 July 1958 issue of Neues Deutschland), "It cannot now be proved [but it is suspected] that the views of the Schirdewan group, which are known to have reflected the

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vacillations and illusions of certain backward circles and the pressure of the enemy, were also expressed in the trade unions and still exist here and there today." The 30 July 1958 issue of Neues Deutschland, in an article urging that "revisionism in trade unions be cleared up," says, "the secretariat of the central governing committee of the IG [Industrial Trade Union] for the Chemical Industry did not consider it necessary to draw conclusions applicable to its work from the exposure of the factional group of Schirdewan, Wollweber, and Ziller, or to dispute the revisionist and opportunist views emanating from this group." The July 1958 issue of Einheit, in pointing out that party and union leaders at a Leipzig printing machine plant were slowing down production and supporting an alleged "human" socialism, said, "The extent of the ideological morass of this party organization is obvious from the fact that their annual report contained no condemnation of the...Schirdewan, Wollweber, and Ziller group."

Following publication of the Fifth Party Congress Resolution in July 1958, no other direct substantive references to Wollweber or the Schirdewan group were found in 1958 sources.

At the beginning of 1959, at the fourth meeting of the Central Committee, Walter Ulbricht made the following statement, which appeared in the 20 January 1959 issue of Neues Deutschland and in the January 1959 issue of Einheit:

"The policy of the Schirdewan group -- that of letting things run along by themselves, and the stagnation of social development -- is based on the simple idea that socialism consists primarily in the building of factories, after which the socialist transformation of agriculture, the inclusion of the petit-bourgeoisie in socialist development, and the formation of socialist consciousness on the part of the masses will follow of itself. In contradiction to this, we stand on the ground of materialist dialectics. The principle has been confirmed through practice that it is not simply a question of development, but of socialist transformation."

Only seven more brief references to the group (not mentioning Wollweber's name) were found in 1959 sources, none of which substantially supplement what has been reported above. Two of these references, moreover, were contained in the self-critical statements of Karl Schirdewan, Fritz Selbmann, and Fred Oelssner in the September and November (No 18 and 21) 1959 issues of Neuer Weg. No 1960 sources have as yet yielded references to either Wollweber or the Schirdewan group.

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2. Disunity Among Literary Theorists; Stagnation of Marxist Literary Theory

The following excerpts are taken from an article published in the East Berlin monthly periodical Neue Deutsche Literatur, May 1960.

"...Socialist-realist literature today is new not only because it has a new political character, reflects new social situations, and sets optimistic goals. It is new...in its entire aesthetic-historical structure.... However, because it does not acquire these new qualities spontaneously, but rather according to a law, the discovery of new aesthetic laws developed from history must be connected with the discovery of social reality itself. Thus, it is extremely important at this time for Marxist aesthetics and scholarship in literature...to analyze what new social and literary practice has thus far developed.... The time is certainly ripe for a more rapid development of theoretical knowledge in the field of literature in the GDR...and for a comprehensive theoretical agreement among our writers. In so doing, it is to be hoped that several literary theoreticians will overcome their dogmatic and often lifeless ideas on the special characteristics of the creative process, and also that several writers will give up the...remnants of a perceptible tendency to concentrate on purely technical-organizational tasks while neglecting theory. Thus, it is necessary that the German Writers Union develop the arrangements for a basic discussion between its members and persons from the field of literary scholarship and to carry out common planning, which is certainly not yet always the case. (The fact is that today disagreement prevails among union members even on what appear to be simple concepts and terms. How can we speak of a common platform when we are not in a position...to attain agreement on basic concepts of Marxist literary theory and on basic concepts of our creation?)...

"The socialist worker as both the hero and consumer of literature determines literature's epochal being and determines on a higher historical level of literary development the principles of national literature.

"...It is false to look on the individual elements of portrayal (e. g., the selection of material and a hero) from the restricted viewpoint of usefulness. It is just as false to follow bourgeois traditions by trying to add a few additional types to literary characters created from a conventional and purely sociological conception, in order to expand the number of characters; these methods have been used for a very long time by naturalistically oriented bourgeois literature. It will also not do to give literary form to a current political task by adding [in literary work] different tasks to it [the current political task]... or placing details, rather than the essential things, in the foreground. Artistic activity which recognizes the general historical role of the working class, but neglects to reveal the qualitatively new characteristics in the historical development of the class, will remain unfruitful....

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"The tendency to look on the great classic bourgeois literature of the past as a preparatory phase of socialist realism is certainly not correct. The treasures of our literary heritage...are an integral part of our...national socialist culture.

"Regarding our national literary tradition, many problems...are only superficially known and have hardly been processed scientifically.... For example, what is the plebeian tradition in German literature which extends from Lenz to Buechner to Bertolt Brecht? ...Is there a clearly recognizable direction toward a definite type of socialist novel? And how is it historically founded? What laws do we discover in literary history where an emerging class places its heroes in new and higher aesthetic relationships? These...questions cannot be answered by West German bourgeois literary scholarship.... With a few respectable exceptions..., West German scholarship is only capable of a...one-sided view of the historical past or of a deeply pessimistic judgment of their future. How can it be otherwise in view of a literary situation which is...in its last period?...

"Since there has recently appeared in well-known novels here a certain schematism in portraying negative characters, we should learn from Anna Seghers the art of drawing negative characters from a historical-aesthetic standpoint.... [Literary] theory cannot offer a recipe to, individual authors, but it can make them aware of certain problems; e.g., the discovery [development] of a realistic fable, about which well-known novelists in our republic unfortunately have very divergent views, or the discovery of new conflicts in human life, as Anna Seghers has done.... Even so, the actual source of art can never be theory, but only reality. 'All works of literature, the products of a progressive ideological attitude..., are the result...of national life reflected in the mind of the writer' (Mao Tse-tung). One thing is clear: Anna Seghers and others have already attained the basis of a new socialist exemplariness, in that they have, through the...new hero of our literature, the consciously socialist...worker, portrayed GDR society...as ever progressing.... In this, these works clearly differ...from bourgeois and classic novels...."

A discussion at the April Cultural Conference, as reported in the 4 May 1960 issue of Der Morgen, East Berlin daily newspaper, included the following comments:

"...Our [literary] hero is not a radiant hero. He has had a hard past and a difficult development. Our hero stands before human problems which demand political decisions, so that there is simply no question of [his having] a cheap optimism. These [heroes] are people who want to be taken seriously.... I have heard from the Western press that we [in East Germany] are in the midst of a process of mass leveling and that such outstanding artists as Professors Kraemer, Arnold, and Mohr are a product of this leveling. I must honestly admit that I do not understand this...."

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Hungary

1. Lenin Ideals in "Party Democracy" and in Guarding Party Secrets

An article by Sandor Szerenyi, titled "Lenin -- Creator of a New Type of Revolutionary Party," appeared in the April 1960 issue of Partelet. The first half of this article discusses the history of Communist Party organizational principles -- Marx's Federation of Communists in London 113 years ago, the social democrat parties of the turn of the century, Bernstein's revisionism, and Lenin's struggle with the Mensheviks -- and proceeds to Lenin's view of the party as the vanguard and militant general staff of the labor class. The author, Sandor Szerenyi, quotes at length from Lenin-Stalin: Partes partepites (Lenin-Stalin: Party and Party Building) (Szikra, 1950; page 91), which stresses that the party must be purged not only of "Mensheviks and reformists," but also of "outstanding Communists" if they harbor any "inclination to vacillate or sway over to the side of 'unity' with the reformists." Szerenyi concludes the first half of his article with the observation that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution proved the correctness of Lenin's organizational principles.

The following excerpts are from the second half of the article.

"...In recent years, revisionists, exploiting the transitional errors connected with the cult of personality, have again revived the old organizational debate. Everywhere, but especially among us, the revisionists attacked the party in order to deprive the working class of its most important weapon, because they denied the Lenin principle of the leading role of the working class and of the party.... They prated that 'the principle of centralism is bureaucratizing the party,' that 'party spirit and party discipline are outmoded concepts' which impede the development of free debates and impede further development. They protested that the Lenin organizational principles of the party were outmoded, that they were valid only for illegal circumstances. Their every attempt, exploiting the real errors committed by Matyas Rakosi and his group, was aimed at breaking party unity, turning the party members against the party leaders and the masses against the party....

"The events of the Hungarian counterrevolution convinced every Communist and, in general, all clear-sighted men, that one of the most important sources of errors and troubles was just that the old leadership had turned from the Lenin principles. The troubles arose, not least of all, from the fact that there was satisfactorily realized within the party neither the principle of democratism, the freedom of debate of the Communists, nor the principle of centralism, against the revisionist and

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sectarian-dogmatic elements destroying party unity. Similarly, the only correct policy of principle was not sufficiently realized with the labor class or in general with the working people. Frequently, the sword of the dictatorship of the proletariat was turned against honest revolutionaries instead of against the class enemy and its revisionist toadies.

"The Lenin rules of party building and party life are not outmoded! On the contrary. Their general, international validity and correctness have been proved before the world. And if the Hungarian and the international revolutionary worker movement has achieved results (and who would deny that it has achieved great results?) since the 20th Congress of the CPSU or since the defeat of the Hungarian counterrevolution, then this is largely due to the fact that we have returned to the Lenin principles. Never again will it happen that we will let ourselves be swayed from the Lenin norms of party life -- from a consistent realization of the principle of democratic centralism, from the principle of collective leadership, from a maintenance of party democracy and strict party discipline, from a honoring of the right of criticism, or from a following of the necessary self-criticism, or from a consequent ideological struggle on two fronts against all sorts of erroneous, revisionist, subjectivist, sectarian-dogmatic, or, in a word, any anti-Marxist view. And we will do everything in the interest of ensuring the leading role of the party...."

Szerenyi quotes at length from Khrushchev's speech to the Hungarian Seventh Party Congress to the effect that it is improper to say that the criticisms voiced at the 20th Congress of the CPSU were too sharp. Szerenyi continues:

"...Learning from previous mistakes, we consistently realized in our party the Lenin principle of democratic centralism. Not only does the membership democratically and secretly elect all the leading organs from below, but it also debates in a wide circle all the more important questions. At the same time, we have strengthened voluntary party discipline. The resolutions are binding and the party organs take care to maintain them. Never has the guarding of party secrets occurred so smoothly as since the defeat of the counterrevolution.

"The ideological-political and organizational unity of the party and of the Central Committee is strong and unbreakable! We must here note that we did not achieve this by avoiding debates. On the contrary. Comrade Kadar said at the National Party Conference: 'I believe that the Central Committee has debated more [since the 1956 revolt] than in the past 5 years put together.' But these debates take place on a basis of principle, in that spirit of Communist humanism which permeates all our party work: We fight not against men but against errors, patiently, humanly, with persuasion and not with administrative tools.

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"In addition to a consistent realization of the principle of collective leadership, it is of extraordinarily great significance in the strengthening of party unity that now, for the first time in party history, the three living labor generations are together -- the 1919ers, the fighters of the years of illegality, and the young postliberation cadre.... Within the party we make no differences between the former social democrats and the former illegal Communists. It is against the Lenin party building and organizational principles to make any distinction according to occupation, origin, earlier worker movement affiliation, age, or sex, or from any other viewpoint.... Our party has only members of equal rank.... Unfortunately, such distinctions are made here and there. But luckily, both the leading organs and the party members are acting ever more swiftly and ever more determinedly against such distortions of Lenin organization principles....

"It is the task of the party to use every effort, everywhere, always, and under all circumstances to win the masses. There must be trust in the masses coupled with proper distrust of the class enemy.... Even today, one of the chief obstacles in our struggle to win the masses is the remnant here and there of dogmatic thinking and sectarian politics....

"Correct selection of party cadre and the arming of them with the science of Marxism-Leninism, with the Lenin methods of party work -- this is an exceptionally important task. Our party cadre has developed greatly, especially in the complex struggles of the past 3 years.... From the viewpoint of educating the party cadre in a Lenin spirit, that statement of Comrade Kadar is especially significant according to which Communists need not be exceptional men, 'but only men in the true sense of the word.'...

"In his famous book titled What Is To Be Done? Lenin worked out the ideological basic principles of a Communist party.... He clearly exposed the deepest roots of opportunism,... the bowing down before ideas of spontaneity.... Our party has drawn much from this teaching of Lenin. With its aid we have smashed the various revisionist 'theories,' not forgetting the harmful nature of subjectivism, sectarianism, and dogmatism...."

2. Writers and the "Revisionist Elan"

Introduction

As the word was originally used, in an open society, "revisionism" meant reformist as opposed to revolutionary Marxism. Behind the Iron Curtain it refers to any person or policy, now condemned, who erred in the direction of liberalism. In these two senses the term cannot be meaningfully applied to dissident trends discoverable in the open journals of Bloc countries. Nevertheless, a consistent dissident trend can be

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discovered in a close and continuous reading of such journals -- a trend aimed at humanizing Communism, a trend aimed at re-establishing continuity with Western traditions, ultimately a trend which expresses a desire to rejoin the West. This trend is a real and powerful force in the European Communist countries. It might be called "The Revisionist Elan".

The contributors to the Revisionist Elan may or may not consciously desire the destruction of the present regime, but certainly they want to change it. Probably the most clear-sighted of them realize that their ideals can be realized only if the regime is overthrown. But in any case they must exert pressure from within, they must protest their loyalty, and they can express their ideals most often only in veiled terms, developing what might be called an open code. What follows is a key to this code, a key which has proved fairly reliable in 2 years of analysis of Hungarian literary journals.

Some of the elements appearing in this "key" are fairly obvious, even definitive of the Revisionist Elan as it is here understood. But obviousness is not the most trustworthy characteristic -- the elements listed below are considered reliable because they appear together or because they have been developed by authors whose previous writings had earned them the revisionist label, i.e., contributors to the Revisionist Elan. Two examples of the failure of obviousness might be given. When a Hungarian author appeals for an increased number of literary journals, he is not expressing a liberal concern; he is a party liner or a "Stalinist" complaining about the central position now occupied by revisionist writers. When a Hungarian author heaps exorbitant praise on Soviet rocket technology he is very likely not a party liner; he is a revisionist backing up his argument for the leading role of the intelligentsia.

Finally, it should be realized that the "code" changes in time. The party identifies elements of the code and then neutralizes them either by absolutely outlawing them (coupling them with revisionism in the party's sense of the word) or by adopting them. The revisionists must then find new elements and shift their pressure to new concerns.

Alphabetical Key to Revisionist Codes and Concerns

Apoliticism -- The revisionists defend those whom the party liners accuse of "apoliticism" or "neutrality"; the revisionists argue that the cause of socialism is too strong to worry about minor dissenting voices.

Artists' role -- the revisionists explicitly or implicitly deny the party's definition of the artist as an agitator by arguing that the artist seeks to express truth; conversely, the revisionists deny that the artist merely reflects reality, arguing that he shapes public consciousness.

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Atomic era -- The revisionists use this term and similar terms to call attention to the inapplicability of 19th century Marxist laws and to suggest the leading role of the intelligentsia.

Bourgeois progressive or radical elements -- The revisionists seek to rehabilitate the bourgeois radical writers of interbellum Hungary (and thus to rehabilitate social democracy as well); also, the revisionists praise Western progressives without insisting on their "bourgeois" and thus "erroneous" perspective.

Bridges -- The revisionists describe "bridges" between the East and the West, between the past and the present, as desirable and they deny that such bridges or "syntheses" compromise socialism.

Complexity -- The revisionists refer to "increasing complexity" and "complex relationships" as necessary concomitants of progress.

Content -- The revisionists criticize the party line stress on "content" as a criterion for an artistic work; this is an attack on "party spirit."

Continuity -- The revisionists insist on the continuity of literary, philosophical, and even political trends, thus denying the radical novelty of Marxism-Leninism.

Crisis -- The revisionists speak of a "general crisis," not only of a crisis in the "bourgeois" world.

Criticism -- The party liners stress the "educational" function of criticism; the revisionists stress the sincerity and "complexity" of criticism.

Dialectics -- When challenged or in anticipation of a challenge, the revisionists will insist that their argument is the truly "dialectical" one; this is either consciously double talk (see "Non sequiturs" below) or it is a justification for "syntheses" which bring in Western ideas.

Ellipses -- The revisionists sometimes pose questions or make asides which could lead to either a party line or a revisionist train of thought; by then breaking off with dots or asterisks, the revisionist train is suggested.

Engels -- Though not a very reliable indicator, there is some tendency for revisionists to quote Engels more often than they quote Marx.

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Existentialism -- Although the revisionists do not claim to be existentialists, they do point out the universal psychological bases for existentialist concerns.

Facts of life -- The revisionists insist that the "facts of life" are the same for all people and must be faced without ideological hedging.

Hegel -- The revisionists attack Hegel for his justification of the established order, but they cite him to point out the idealistic roots of "dialectical materialism."

Historical necessity -- The revisionists reject "vulgarized" versions of historical necessity, a concept which they lump with "predetermination."

Humanism -- Although this is a much overworked term, any reference to humanism which does not immediately point out the class content of such a concept can be considered revisionist.

Individual -- The revisionists will refer to the individual as unique and as independent of sociological laws.

Internal world -- The revisionists will defend this and other subjectivist concepts.

"Isms" -- The revisionists defend the "isms" of art (surrealism, expressionism, futurism, etc.) as having made lasting contributions to world literature and as having developed elements which can still be used.

Jesus -- Revisionists will refer to Jesus, the Cross, or religious concepts in general (including Buddha) in such a way as to identify them with progressive causes.

Jacobins -- Revisionists refer to the Jacobins (both French and Hungarian, both 1795 and 1848) as champions of true revolution.

Marx -- Revisionists refer to themselves and to each other as true Marxists and they will quote Marx as an absolutely safe authority; but the "young Marx versus old Marx" argument is not currently exploited in Hungary.

Modernism -- Revisionists defend "modernness" or "modernism" (using the Hungarian or Hungarianized words as common nouns), and they speak of "Modernism" (the Latin word, a proper noun) in quotes as being something which does not really exist; the party liners see Modernism (or a Modernist Front) as a sinister ideological movement.

Non sequiturs -- The revisionists introduce non sequiturs at the end of an argument to call attention to an unstated argument which would have justified the conclusion drawn; party liners use non sequiturs in the middle of an argument in order to warp it to the party line conclusion..

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North -- Hungarian revisionists occasionally refer to the "North" as the homeland of the enemy; it is associated with darkness.

Oversimplification -- Revisionists reject party line criticism by using countercharges of "oversimplification," "vulgarization," or failure to appreciate complexity.

Party spirit -- Although this is an extremely sensitive area, the revisionists will deplore "defensive" or "aggressive" party spirit on the grounds that it does not suit the present victorious period of socialism.

Petit-bourgeois -- In matters of artistic taste, the revisionists use the term "petit-bourgeois" to refer to "vulgarized" party spirit literature; see also "Proletariat."

Populism -- In Hungary populism is identical with the program of the folk writers and is thus distinct from revisionism and the social democrat traditions; however, the populists and the revisionists have many common concerns. Their differences are most apparent in the areas of nationalism (the revisionists are internationalists) and philosophy of history (the populists sometimes seem to have a mystical idea of fate).

Proletariat -- The revisionists speak of the raising of the proletariat and its fusion with the petit bourgeoisie as an accomplished fact; they thus refer to the class struggle as a thing of the past.

Public opinion -- In the area of literature, the revisionists insist that the public is now too sophisticated for the "socialist realism" of 5-10 years ago.

Quality -- The revisionists stress high artistic quality as necessary to socialist art and as demanded by public opinion.

Quotation marks -- Revisionists use quotation marks or an introductory "so-called" to negate party line criticism of "modernism" "snobbism," "bourgeois literature," etc.

Science -- Idealized praise of science is used by the revisionists to justify the leading role of the intelligentsia.

Search -- The revisionists speak of the search for new forms to suit the new society, and they thus defend a more liberal, more heterogeneous cultural policy.

Spring -- See Time."

Syntheses -- See "Dialectics" or "Bridges."

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Thaw -- See "Time."

Time -- "Time," often spelled with a capital letter, is central to a complex of ideas and code elements which are most essential to, and characteristic of, the Revisionist Elan. These ideas and elements include: thaw, spring, tomorrow, and change. Time is virtually the god of the revisionists; it is an expression of their faith in ultimate victory; it is a condemnation of the present. For a powerful example of this in a non-Hungarian source, see Dudintsev's "A New Year's Tale," where Time is the realm conquered by the scientist and where a watch, a chronometer, is the talisman handed down from the renegade bandit chief to the scientist who brings the spring.

Tomorrow -- See "Time."

Unity -- The revisionists attack "unprincipled" unity of ideas or opinions and they consider differences of opinion healthy.

Writers -- The revisionists speak of an international "brotherhood of writers"; writers are the "conscience of mankind." See also "Artist's role."

Writers (by name) -- The revisionists have developed a pantheon of writers whose works either exemplify the truly progressive, the truly revolutionary, or serve as a starting point for a discussion of revisionist concerns. This pantheon includes: Mark Twain, Walt Whitman, Sandburg, Steinbeck, Mayakovskiy, Durrenmatt, Endre Ady, and Attila Jozsef.

Revisionist Literary Journals

Elet es Irodalom, the official weekly of the Hungarian Writers Federation edited by Miklos Szabolcsi, could be considered a journal under revisionist control. Revisionist contributions to this journal reached a peak around 23 October 1959, shortly after Szabolcsi became editor. Since then, there has been a definite shrinkage of the space devoted to contributions to the Revisionist Elan. But statements of editorial policy still defend the right of the journal to criticize the present socialist reality, still reject party line attacks on "snobbism," and still call for high artistic quality.

Kortars, the chief Hungarian literary monthly, edited by Gabor Tolnai, is not under revisionist control. The official editorial policy is party line and condemns modernism. But contributions to the revisionist Elan still appear in it in proportions equal to those of Elet es Irodalom. This probably reflects the regime's dilemma: it must tolerate the publication of revisionist writing or flood the market with hack work which would be counterproductive.

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Nagyvilag, edited by Laszlo Kardos and dedicated to publishing translations of world literature, is the most modernist and most revisionist of Hungarian publications. Even ignoring its devotion to Western writers at the expense of Soviet and Bloc writers, it provides a forum for the most outspoken and courageous critics of the regime. It was the first to publish Laszlo Nemeth after the party attacked him; it published Agnes Heller the month after she was expelled from the party. It refuses to publish party line "guides" to "bourgeois" literature and it publishes the most modernist of the Western writers, showing a definite preference for the "kafka school." It published Dudintsev's "A New Year's Tale," and it has recently defended the revisionism of the thaw in unveiled language.

Example of Revisionist Writing

The following examples do not provide a complete list of Hungarian revisionists, just as the foregoing key is not a complete list of revisionist concerns. Also, it must be remembered that "revisionist" as here used means contributing to the Revisionist Elan as here defined. Individual "revisionists" may not desire the overthrow of the regime. A more complete version of each of the following examples can be found in issues of the Eastern Europe Press Survey. Thus, "2243 (58) 21" means that the example come from Summary No 2243, Eastern Europe Press Survey (58), page 21.

Now I step into the ever expanding temple of my father, Time.

And I draw tighter the cord about my waist.

And I laugh...

-- Lajos Maroti, Elet es Irodalom, 5 June 1959

2243 (58) 21

"A dead man speaks.... A dead man speaks who is a book and a memory... Yes, in all my life, freedom called me and guided me. When the brown-uniformed hordes neared our borders, I left with the rest. We started north in packed rail cars...."

"The court retires for consultation. The judgement will be announced -- tomorrow."

-- Zoltan Keszthelyi, Kortars, June 1959

2253 (59) 23

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There is revolution in the hearts....

I am Time's witness,

And what I see I must say....

-- Karolyi Gallai, Kortars, July 1959
2276 (62) 111

There is honor and respect for the Hungarians here [in Moscow],
and it makes one wonder why.***...

Humanity will feel the great speed of our age...only when it
reaches port. Then humanity will truly see how far our age
flew in a few decades from the East Asian Antiquity, from the
Balkan Middle Ages -- from the Age of Earth to the Age of
Stars.***....

-- Ferenc Jankovich, Kortars, July 1959

2276 (62) 18

Napoleon knew that he could maintain his reign if he would ac-
cept the help offered him by the Jacobins and republicans, men
he had thus far persecuted, men who had so far stood aside or,
primarily, who had been set aside.... Let us now examine
the analogies to this situation which are at hand....

-- Jozsef Lengyel, Nagyvilag, September 1959

2339 (70) 29-30

Recently, there have been discussions in our criticisms and in
our press about one of the obstacles to the development of our
socialist literature -- a certain bourgeois snobbism.... This
is a real problem.... But we have a bad habit. If a thought
or slogan appears, we immediately snatch it up and run it into
the ground until it loses its value or meaning.... The basic
mood of the article [accused of snobbism] was correct -- to
raise the level of our film criticism....

-- M. Sz. (Miklos Szabolcsi), Elet es Irodalom, 12
February 1960

2508 (92) 17

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Their [the Hungarian Jacobins of 1848] pregnant concepts are not without lessons for today: Freedom does not consist of our having a just lord, whether in Heaven or on Earth, but in our having no lord at all!

-- Gyorgy Tordai, Elet es Irodalom, 11 March 1960

2547 (97) 6

The palpable achievements of our socialist reality are not in the least changed if we also cast light into the shadowy recesses.... We should not fear for the self-awareness of our people because of a faithful portrayal of reality....

-- Geza Molnar, Elet es Irodalom, 18 March 1960

2547 (97) 12

Ehrenburg idealizes the revisionism which has appeared as a concomitant to the times since the death of Stalin and the 20th Congress; Kochetov demonizes it.... But the most important thing escapes the attention of both of them: the spring.

-- Janos Elbert, Nagyvilag, April 1960

2583 (102)

Camus' last great work was to raise Du Gard to a leading Master -- Du Gard, whose leading spirit in turn was Jaures, who is worthy of being a legend and who, in turn, whom did he follow? He followed those whom we all could follow, those of World Literature....

-- Gyula Illyes, Nagyvilag, May 1960

2598 (104) Item C-4

Conclusion

It can be stated with certainty that the Hungarian intelligentsia, like the Polish intelligentsia and large proportions of the intelligentsia in European "socialist" countries in general, has not yet made its peace with the Communist tyranny. Increasingly, however, the struggle must be made from within. In a period of "peaceful coexistence" this struggle from within, this Revisionist Elan, is greatly facilitated -- the party

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is well aware of this and couples pleas for ideological purity with its every turn toward peaceful coexistence. But "peaceful coexistence" is not the only soil for a growth of revisionism -- any change which causes the propaganda machine to falter, which provides areas of ambiguity, can be exploited by the passionate and agile (and opportunistic) revisionists. Compared to the dull and patently false party line, revisionism is most attractive to the best of the old intelligentsia and the most intelligent of the young. Whenever the party falters, the revisionists can be counted on to exploit this faltering to press again to rejoin the West, to re-establish the cultural ties with the European tradition. And the existence of such a passionate movement or pressure among the best of the young intelligentsia, without whom no modern society can function, is itself a thing to make the party falter -- one can imagine the meetings of the Central Committee (and in The Revolt of the Mind by Tamas Aczel and Tibor Meray, Praeger, 1959, one can read of them) at which this very issue splits the top leadership according to whether one should adopt a hard or soft solution of the problem. One could read every Bloc journal for years without finding a detailed revisionist program; but if one is sensitive to the code, one cannot fail to find ample evidence of the Revisionist Elan.

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3. Students Given New Line on Molnar Questions

The March and April 1960 issues of Felsooktatasi Szemle, higher education monthly of the Ministry of Culture, published a two-part article entitled "Concerning Instruction in the Problem of the Absolute Impoverishment of the Worker Class of Capitalist Countries," by Norbert Nemenyi, assistant instructor at the Construction Industry and Transportation Technical University. It would appear from this article that the questions raised by Erik Molnar (see Summary No 2458, Eastern Europe Press Survey (86), pp 44-55, and Summary No 2508, Eastern Europe Press Survey (92), p 9 have had a profound effect on teachers and students of political economics. It would appear also that the lower echelon propagandists have been left more or less on their own with this problem.

This article probably presents the interim "school solution" to the problem, a solution which may be superseded if Tarsadalmi Szemle, the party theoretical journal, ever makes good its promise to publish an authoritative analysis of Molnar's theses. This interim solution, by a low-ranking instructor in a university of secondary importance, is not very satisfactory. His accusation that capitalists force more and more consumer goods onto the workers will doubtless be counterproductive from the propaganda viewpoint and his redefinition of "absolute impoverishment" to mean a decreasing percentage of the value of work is empirically unprovable and theoretically suspect.

The following excerpts are taken from the first installment of the article, published in March 1960.

"In university teaching of political economics we have come to the already much debated theme of 'Capital Accumulation and Impoverishment of the Worker Class' at a time when Marxist economists at home and abroad are turning increased attention to a correct Marxist analysis of the impoverishment of the worker class, to an elimination of dogmatic and revisionist distortions.

"Naturally, the debates being carried on at various levels are having an effect on university instruction. The debate is not a new one, and the progress -- especially in liquidating dogmatic errors -- is considerable; instruction must take into account the results and experiences of the debate....

"We believe that the economics group of our faculty has successfully clarified the views in its own area. As a result of the debate we have come to a unified stand in regard to a conceptual definition of absolute impoverishment.... It is our opinion that as far as the danger of a dogmatic interpretation of the theme is concerned, the old general errors have served to get theory and instruction over this point. But the same

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cannot be said of revisionism. We think that revisionism is a precise expression for the characterization of views which regard absolute impoverishment of the worker class as a law which has been or can be rendered void." The author thus denies Erik Molnar's contention that dogmatism is the greatest danger in economics; but since Molnar has retreated from his position that the "law" of absolute impoverishment has been rendered void, the accusation of "revisionism" is not here leveled at Molnar himself. He continues: "Since revisionism is the chief danger, teaching of this theme must oppose the revisionist views...."

"In the following, I want to report on the train of thought of and the stand taken by our faculty...." Nemenyi then reviews the teachings of Marx concerning capital accumulation and impoverishment. He asserts that the basic problem is whether or not absolute impoverishment exists and not whether or not Marx himself considered it a law. Nemenyi insists that where capital is accumulated the poverty of the workers increases -- thus there is one indivisible law, not part of which can be rendered void alone. "Absolute impoverishment can be rendered void only together with capitalism and its general law." The next problem considered is how to compare impoverishment in one period with impoverishment in another. Nemenyi says that three points were considered: (1) the worker class as a whole, throughout the capitalist world system, must be examined; (2) "satisfaction of needs" is a concept which changes as need levels change; and (3) absolute impoverishment is a tendency which is not uniformly expressed. Some of the conclusions following from these considerations are given below.

"Unemployment expresses the general validity of impoverishment in capitalism. How must this be understood? In opposition to those revisionist views which limit the problem of impoverishment to the problem of distribution, we completely agree with the view according to which absolute impoverishment is not essentially a problem of distribution... but is the accumulation of surplus value leading to that contradiction of capitalism which is expressed in the forcing of workers out of production.... In reality, every change in the distribution of consumer goods is subordinate to the general law of capitalist production and capital accumulation.... In teaching, we discuss unemployment in first place...."

Nemenyi reviews statistics on unemployment in the US. He asserts that the "10 percent unemployment" in the US affects the wage level of the other 90 percent and creates feelings of insecurity in all workers. He predicts that unemployment will be made far worse by automation, and repeatedly refers to the coming age of automation as an age of "slavery." He comments: "The Marxist economists have no reason to paint this picture rosier than reality by 'rendering void' absolute impoverishment." He concludes that the long-range picture is worse than the present situation.

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Turning to the "organized struggle of the labor class," a key concept in Erik Molnar's discussion of this problem, Nemenyi says: "If we bring in the effect of the organized struggle of the labor class, then we can speak only of temporary obstacles to or mitigation of impoverishment. The technical development of industry cannot be stopped in capitalism either.... Absolute impoverishment is unavoidable...."

Nemenyi then discusses real wages and the relationship of wages to the value of the labor force and to the needs which must be satisfied if a worker is to feel himself well off in a given society. Comparing 1956 with 1938, he gives data to prove that there has been a decrease in the real wages of workers in France, Italy, and Latin American countries.

In his second installment published in April 1960, Nemenyi continues to give examples, citing unemployment among Ruhr miners. He continues:

"It can be seen from the foregoing that there is a constant tendency in capitalism toward a worsening of the situation of the labor class and, even in the case of greatest effectiveness, the economic struggle of the labor class cannot impede the 'breaking in' of this tendency in the form of real wage reductions as a result of the above listed factors. However, the reduction of real wages is not a constant, interdependent sequence in the history of capitalism. This is not the case. The real wage, consumption by the labor class, does not decrease constantly, but rises, with serious pauses. The sharpness of the situation is caused by just these serious pauses, those periods when the worsening tendency 'breaks in.'... If we examine the development of the real wages of the labor class in a historical perspective, balancing periodic decreases and increases, then we get an apparently positive result because, in general, disregarding the most backward colonies, consumption by the labor class in 1959 exceeds labor-class consumption in the old days of capitalist society. The question arises of how this fact is related to the absolute impoverishment of the labor class. This has been the source of much misunderstanding and debate, and is so even today....

"We must consider two points: the actual causes of the increase in consumption and the interdependence between real wages and the value of the Labor force.... It would be a mistake to forget that the labor class is not only the producer of surplus value, but also the No 1 consumer of capitalist goods.... This quantitatively increasing consumption is vital to capital....

"On the other hand, we can establish that the increase in the magnitude of the real wage lags behind the increase in the magnitude of the value of the labor force; thus, the actual magnitude of the real wage decreases....

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"The social aspect of the value of the labor force is defined by the accustomed life style of the society. In this sense, absolute impoverishment means that the quantity and quality of consumer goods obtainable by the workers lags ever further behind the satisfaction of the social needs of the workers.... The situation of the worker today can be measured only by the standards of today and not by the standards of the "antediluvian" proletariat.... In addition to physical poverty, we must consider social poverty....

"It is difficult to measure statistically the gulf between the value of the labor force and the real wage. A relatively passable way would be to make comparisons on the basis of bourgeois subsistence minimum statistics. Let us consider 1953 American statistics concerning the situation of the labor class, on the basis of Erik Molnar's book titled A jelenkori kapitalizmus nehany gazdasagi problemaia (Several Economic Problems of Contemporary Capitalism)...." (This is Nemenyi's first reference to Molnar by name.)

Nemenyi then presents University of California data to the effect that the "subsistence minimum" for a family of four in the US was 104 dollars per week in 1953, and he presents data to prove that wages were considerably below this amount. He notes that the greatest number of Americans "must stint themselves if they buy an automobile on time payments." Once again Nemenyi insists, quoting Marx, that the struggle of the workers for increased wages is an insignificant factor in the actual development of real wages. He says:

"Many do not agree with this analysis of the decrease in real wages which takes into consideration the changes in the value of the labor force. In his book cited above, Erik Molnar notes that in an examination of absolute impoverishment one must keep the political content of the concept in view. From this he draws the conclusion that: 'Those who believe in the newest theory pertaining to absolute impoverishment, those who start from the increasing value of the labor force, leave out of consideration the political content of absolute impoverishment.... It may be true that the rising real wage remains behind the increasing value of the labor force, although this can hardly be proved. However, even in an economic sense, this is not absolute impoverishment. If the real wage rises one cannot speak of absolute impoverishment.... If wages and the living standard of the worker class rise, then the situation of extreme need, which would force the worker class onto the road of revolution, does not come into being even if wages do remain behind the value of the labor force....'

"I do not find this argument convincing because:

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"1. If Erik Molnar recognizes an increasing value of the labor force (and this follows from the Heller subsistence minimum University of California statistics cited by him) then a relating of the real wage to the increasing value of the labor force does not represent a theoretical innovation....

"2. It is true that if the real wage rises one cannot speak of absolute impoverishment. But the real wage does not rise, as Marx showed in the above quotation. The cited work was Wages, Prices, Profits....

"3. Can the debated interdependence be called a relative impoverishment? Yes, but only in the sense that poverty itself is a relative historical-social concept in every view.... But this does not wash out the difference between relative and absolute impoverishment.... On the contrary, a comparison of the value of the labor force and prices shows that in capitalism the situation of the worker class worsens not only in a relative sense, in comparison with the capitalists, but also in an absolute sense, in comparison with their own previous situation, because even as wages increase they are paid a decreasing percentage of the value of labor force.

"4. Taking the so-called 'relative' (social) element into consideration does not at all mean a neglect of the political content of absolute impoverishment.... The concept of so-called social poverty does not kill the political content of absolute impoverishment; it expands it.... We could add that it is not only the internal laws of capitalism which will influence the behavior of the labor class and the fate of capitalism. 'The achievements of the socialist countries' and 'the revolutionary pressure radiating from the socialist countries' will clearly increase the significance of so-called social poverty and make it unbearable for the workers...." In this paragraph, Nemenyi is probably quoting from Erik Molnar; throughout the article Nemenyi quotes Molnar to refute Molnar.

Nemenyi then discusses the increase in work intensity. "The increase in wages cannot counterbalance the physical ruination of the worker, the destruction of his nervous system," he writes. He cites examples, primarily West German, to show that the workers are now being forced to do more work. He cites data (giving percentages only) to show that food consumption is showing a decreasing tendency in the West, even in the US. He writes that the world-wide housing shortage appears in the West in the form of high rents. The worker class in the West gets only the "cheapest and lowest" of cultural facilities, he says; "general human culture is at a level below all expectation" in the US. He writes of the small number of "worker students" in universities and of the high cost of medical treatment. He then discusses the situation in colonial countries, noting that the "starvation wages" of colonial workers limit the absolute impoverishment of workers in the mother country, and that as the colonies gain independence the absolute impoverishment of workers in the mother country will increase.

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Finally, Nemenyi discusses the effect of war on impoverishment. Noting first that "the economic consequences of war afflict the workers," he continues in a different vein: "No one can debate the effect of wars. For capitalism, the chief 'result' of the two world wars was the coming into existence of the socialist world system; the result to be expected from a third world war is the complete destruction of the capitalist system. In connection with wars, it is obvious that capitalism has now produced insecurity not only in an economic sense.... The worker class and the majority of the populace live in insecurity in regard to their lives as well....

"In conclusion, we [Nemenyi and his faculty colleagues] discussed factors which have an effect counter to the absolute impoverishment of the worker class," he writes.

"First among these is the organized struggle of the worker class.... In a given situation, the organized struggle of the worker class can slow down or temporarily hold up the increasing of poverty.... But it is our opinion that the organized struggle of the worker class cannot 'render void' absolute impoverishment....

"Second, periodically the cyclic character of capitalist renewed production can have an effect counter to impoverishment.... The longer or shorter periods of boom can have a favorable effect on the situation of the worker class....

"Third, and finally, the existence of the socialist world system has a countereffect on absolute impoverishment. It strengthens the struggle of the worker class and makes it easier to force concessions from the capitalists.... This applies first of all to West Germany, for example, but it also applies to those former colonies which are coming into the sphere of equal socialist contacts....

"These factors have an effect against absolute impoverishment without rendering impoverishment ineffective....

"An examination of the situation of the worker class in the present period presents the following alternatives:

"Insofar as the forces of war get the upper hand in imperialist capitalism, war will produce for the worker class of the capitalist countries, and for the vast majority of their populace as well, a situation for which the expression 'poverty' [the Hungarian "nyomor" can also mean "misery," "distress," "wretchedness," etc.] would not prove appropriate or sufficient and war will destroy capitalism not only militarily but also and primarily politically.

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"Insofar as the other ever more realistic possibility is concretized, that is, the tendency of economic competition of the two systems, comparison with the increasing living standard of the socialist countries will make the impoverishment of the worker class [of the capitalist countries] unbearable; beside the palace of the increasing well-being of the socialist system, the workers will feel the poverty of capitalism to be an unbearable novel."

Bulgaria

Foreign Cultural Revisionism Assailed in Literary Journal's Review

A book entitled Zakonut na literaturnite dzhungli (The Law of the Literary Jungles), by Ivan Ruzh, published by "Bulgarski pisatel" Publishing Enterprise, Sofia, 1959, was reviewed by Stefan Gechev in Plamuk, No 4, April 1960. Ruzh is deputy chief editor of Plamuk, monthly periodical of the Union of Bulgarian Writers.

The 21 May 1960 issue of Rabotnichesko Delo names this book and its author among recipients of literary awards presented by the Union of Bulgarian Writers for achievement in 1959 in the category of literary criticism and theory. The book was previously reviewed favorably by Ivan Sestrinski in Narodna Kultura, No 7, 13 February 1960, under a boxed passage quoting N. S. Khrushchev as saying that "mutual concessions in the interest of peaceful coexistence between two states should not be confused with concessions on questions of principle, on questions concerning the very essence of our socialist system, of our ideology. Here, there can be no question whatsoever of concessions and of adjustments."

The following excerpts from Gechev's review in Plamuk are presented because of the book's alleged skillful, though apparently vituperative, "exposure" of "Western, Yugoslav, and Polish revisionism" and as an example of the regime's constant awareness of the dangers inherent in "free" cultural exchanges.

"When the cult of the personality...was censured at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, imperialist propaganda felt that the moment to attack had arrived. Squandering millions of dollars for 'agitation,' espionage, and guns and utilizing outlived bourgeois remnants among some intellectuals, it succeeded in provoking certain disturbances in some socialist countries. The climax was the Hungarian counterrevolution.

"But the elation of the imperialists lasted about as long as the March snow. The people in the socialist countries, guided by their Communist parties, either were unsusceptible to imperialistic propaganda or succeeded in sobering up quickly. The hopes for secession of a People's Democracy from the socialist bloc proved to be a mirage in the barren desert of Western fantasies.

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"If on the political front, however, imperialism sustained a complete debacle, the struggle against socialism continues on the ideological front. The entire arsenal of ideological weapons, beginning with the illustrious 'prosperity' of the American way of life and concluding with the 'freedom' in which the people under capitalism were rejoicing, has been put into operation. The Western press frequently publishes articles by 'eyewitnesses' or 'specialists' which prove that the culture of the USSR and of the other socialist countries is on the decline because of a lack of 'creative freedom.' Crocodile tears are being shed for the 'unfortunate' creators who are attached to the chariot of socialist realism. Disguised in the motley attire of benevolent sympathizers, of socialists, of objective observers, of Marxists without Marx, and of Leninists without Lenin, the voluntary and involuntary agents of monopolistic capital are shooting from their paper guns their own bombastic fireworks which, by chance, strangely resemble the monthly American rockets which start out for the moon but always fall into the sea.

"No matter how sad these ideological efforts are, they should not be overlooked in silence. They are frequently signed with well-known names -- authors, sociologists, and critics. Their arguments may disturb some weak, indecisive people. Therefore, the battle with imperialist propaganda and with revisionism is an important part of the general ideological struggle between the socialist camp and the camp of monopolistic capital.

"Regrettably, in Bulgaria this struggle is being waged on a comparatively minor and insufficiently serious scale. Usually, we are satisfied with newspaper remarks or a brief radio commentary. That is precisely why the book by Ivan Ruzh is so appropriate. It examines the entire complex of problems which we have outlined; the question of the celebrated 'freedom' of creators in the Western world is the central theme. This problem is examined in the chapter 'Where the Straight and Narrow Line Exists' and in the next chapter 'Aggressions of Hypocrisy.' The same problem is also dealt with in the chapter 'The Weapons of the Gentlemen From Look,' written on the basis of ill-intentioned opinions about Bulgaria by William Atwood and published in the American magazine Look; and in the chapter 'The Agonies of Le Figaro Littéraire,' containing the reflections of Alberto Moravia wherein the author refutes the famed Italian author's inaccurate allegations about the Soviet Union. The chapter 'Attack by Trojan Horse' is also devoted to the status of creative artists in America, dealing with the question of creative freedom. Subsequent chapters of the book are directed to antirevisionism and to defense of socialist realism.

"That which strikes the eye of the reader is the wealth of documentation.... To each charge levied against socialist culture by Western 'fighters,' Ruzh answers with facts culled from the life and literature of the Western countries. Thus, the words employed in Western propaganda -- freedom, prosperity, and objectivity -- acquire their true meaning.

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They are only propaganda tricks aimed at deluding the ignorant and behind which appears the iron mask of the capitalist. Almost throughout, the author fortifies his claims with copious facts collected from bourgeois publications and from the statements and works of bourgeois authors. Hence, the brilliant persuasiveness of the book by Ivan Ruzh.

"The author calmly and convincingly exposes some Western, Yugoslav, and Polish revisionists. Revisionism, which at first glance employs socialist terminology and appears to strive for a 'true' socialist culture, is more dangerous, for which reason Ruzh deals in detail with its arguments, reveals its reactionary essence, and shows plainly that, willingly or unwillingly, revisionism serves imperialist propaganda.

"The language of the book is acutely polemical. The author is not an 'objective' observer of facts and events. He is a fighter for establishment of socialist culture, of our righteousness. But this sharp polemic never transcends the limits of a serene confidence emanating from profound recognition of the historic natural laws which motivate the development of human society. Its acuteness lies in the sharp comparison of facts, which per se creates acute situations.

"We wish that the author had avoided several shortcomings. In the first place, it was unnecessary to speak of cultural manifestations in countries about which there is an insufficiency of factual data. That occurs in the section 'Other Countries' in the chapter 'Where the Straight and Narrow Line Exists,' and does not provide the conclusiveness which is unquestionable in the other sections. Several inaccuracies, such as the allegation that Francoise Sagan is a writer of pornography, could have been avoided. In her novels, at least, Sagan does not appear to be that kind of writer. Also, the presentation of factual data could have been better organized. For example, the torment to which famed singer Paul Robeson was subjected in America is cited in the section 'Us Artistic Literature.' The repeated use of the same facts throughout the book could also have been avoided. But these rough spots in no way diminish the value of the text.

"After reading the book by Ivan Ruzh, you will have a wealth of arguments and facts, of concepts and ideas, which will strengthen your faith in the creativity of socialist culture, and you will be able to see through the cleverest propaganda emanating from the West. You will distinguish the real, which is being accomplished despite the wishes of bourgeois society, from the 'ersatz,' which is being offered to the people to keep them in ignorance and to divert their attention from the vital questions of daily capitalist life. The book by Ivan Ruzh is a valuable weapon in the struggle against militant bourgeois ideology.

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"Perhaps some are posing the question: when there are signs of a thaw in relations between East and West, is the appearance of a book which draws attention to irreconcilable differences between two ideologies advisable at this time, and how can we associate this with the appeal for peaceful coexistence? But coexistence between socialism and capitalism by no means implies capitulation. On the contrary, it presupposes, along with a mutual exchange of values..., a hard struggle with everything decadent, detrimental, and reactionary which Western culture presents to us. When the polemic is based on facts, when it is supported in a calm and concrete tone, as in Ruzh's book, it could be of benefit not only to us, the people of socialism, but also to all Western people who are honestly seeking the truth."

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IV. WESTERN EUROPE

France

Two Dissident Communist Groups Discuss Cooperation

The possibility of cooperation between two French dissident Communist groups, those publishing Unir and Le Communiste, to effect a "renovation" of the French Communist Party (PCF) was openly raised in the April-May 1960 issue of Le Communiste, monthly publication of the "revolutionary tendency" in the French Communist Party. The overtures were made by the Unir group, but not, apparently, to Le Communiste alone, for in a letter which Le Communiste published, Unir offered to open its columns to any publication claiming to support Communism, on condition that such publication print the text of the Unir letter. After being "democratically consulted," Le Communiste reported, the members of its group instructed the editors to give a "favorable answer to this offer," and it was thus that the text of Unir's letter and Le Communiste's answer were published.

"Unir and the Opposition" covered two main points: the group's position with respect to other dissident Communists in France, and its determination to rid the French Communist Party of the Thorez group. Unir first described itself as an "internal" publication, issued to "arm the militants for the struggle for Leninist renovation of the party against the false positions resulting from the bureaucratic and authoritarian methods of the ruling group sparked by the Thorez cult." Unir stressed its conviction that there can be but one Communist Party, thus ruling out cooperation with those opposition groups which advocate forming a "new" party, and insisted that once the PCF has succeeded in re-establishing democratic centralism, there will be no disciplinary problem and the will of the majority will become law for all. Unir further asserted that the responsibility for joint actions or agreements should lie with regular party groups, "whatever their faults," and that the merger of such groups as Tribune du Communisme with Social Democratic groups such as the PSA (Autonomous Socialist Party) or the "petty bourgeois leftist" UGS (Union of the Socialist Left) only serves to divide the working class. Finally, Unir defended its clandestineness, which, it said, had been questioned by some, by stating that secrecy protects its members from the Thorez group, which is looking for members to expel."

Le Communiste's answer to Unir, "For the Coordination of Our Efforts," was also divided in two parts: five points of agreement and four points of disagreement. Le Communiste agreed with Unir that, despite its faults, the French Communist Party constitutes the basis for a "truly revolutionary" Communist Party, and that because of this, all attempts to form a "new

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party" should be ruled out. Unir's insistence that all efforts toward joint actions should come from within the party was also acceptable to Le Communiste, as was the denunciation of factions or factional activity within the party. And lastly, Le Communiste supported Unir's statement that exclusion per se does not constitute a "determining and necessary reference" for membership in the opposition. "What is decisive," said Le Communiste, "is the real reasons for which a comrade is excluded and his behavior after his exclusion with respect to the class enemy and its agents in the workers movement and the party itself."

Le Communiste's criticisms of Unir's letter were constructive, although in some cases basic, and indicated "agreement on the fundamental question of action for the revolutionary transformation of the Communist Party with an eye to the advent of socialism in France." Unir's insistence on eliminating the Thorez group from the leadership of the PCF was "too personal," Le Communiste felt. "The leaders are the product of a period and a policy. That certain ones will disappear at the time of the revolutionary transformation of the party is very likely, but the opposition must not dwell excessively on this objective," Le Communiste cautioned.

Another object of criticism was what Le Communiste called Unir's confusion of the terms "tendency" and "faction." It is obvious that there are two tendencies in the French Communist Party, Le Communiste claimed -- one which is opportunistic and bureaucratic, and one which tends to renovate the party with a revolutionary policy and democratic methods. Is not Unir itself a tendency within the party, asked Le Communiste.

Le Communiste's third point of disagreement with Unir concerned the latter's secrecy, first because this attitude "results in legitimate distrust by the militants of a group whose leaders are unknown," and second, because it "implies a de facto refusal to admit that opportunism and bureaucratic practices force a number of excellent Communists to remain outside the party at this time." This is why, the article explained, Le Communiste, although it has secret members in the party, has formed a group outside the party to represent it and prepare for the "regrouping of real Communists temporarily forced to stay out of the party."

Le Communiste's fourth and final point expressed disapproval of Unir's organizational concepts and practices, labeling them as not truly "democratic." "We put to them," wrote Le Communiste, "the necessity of finding organizational methods which can give all Communists who come to the opposition the experience of democracy, collective research, and an effective check on the directing groups of the opposition." Such practices are risky, Le Communiste admitted, but are preferable to secrecy, which "gives all the power to a machine directorate and prevents the selection and real training of cadres."

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Le Communiste concluded with a warning to Unir to beware of persons who "improperly claim to be members of the Communist opposition" and try to participate in the opposition movement, and with the hope that the discussion proposed by Unir and accepted by Le Communiste will cover such topics as the party program and the problem of relations and coordination of Communist parties, that is, possible reconstruction of the Communist International.

Finland

Revisionism in Finnish Communist Party

Disclosures of revisionism in the Finnish Communist Party (FCP) appeared in a feature article on the editorial page of Suomen Sosialidemokraatti, the Helsinki Social Democratic daily, of 22 April 1960. The article, signed with the pseudonym "Simppa" and entitled "Strong and Unified," consisted of two letters from "friends" repudiating the existence of strength and unity in the FCP. The complete text of the first "letter," which deals with the revisionism in the party, follows:

"According to Ville Pessi's testimony, the FCP is strong and unified. What can the rank-and-file Communists possibly think about that testimony? The same Pessi, as late as October-November during a certain conference, established that it was useless to deny that the FCP is bothered by revisionism. It is also known that in October, the local FCP opposition held a meeting in Vaasa. Moreover, Turun Paivalehti [Turku Social Democratic daily newspaper] has published numerous opinions of Turku revisionists and more recently the Joensuu Communists have begun to 'liquidate' an SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] organization. In other words, as clear-headed men they refuse to understand why, among the same people, it is necessary to have two sets of meetings and records, two kinds of secretaries and two kinds of accounts, when the FCP men give the orders and also provide the money. The Swedish-language Communists favor a more Nordic orientation and for this reason Pessi and company have labeled them 'nationalistic.' It could be so-so with the unity when not only Communists but Finnish [nationalistic?] Communists, revisionists, nonconformists, and nationalists are included. Lehen and Aikia, two ministers [not further identified], could still form their own group..

"We who were where it was demanded in advance that a situation be created in the party congress which would 'reflect' the party's unconditional solitariness understand Pessi's speech better. The word 'reflect' is the correct one here. The 'reflecting' was left to the FCP district secretaries, since it was their responsibility to prevent delegates objectionable to Pessi from attending the congress. Viewpoints which deviated from the party line (whatever it might currently be) could not be presented, as was done at the last congress.

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"When delegates go to meetings with those instructions, it 'reflects' something, but surely not the real situation. After Pessi's statement, reason exists for permitting the Vaasa revisionists to speak: The behavior of us ordinary Communists toward the FCP leadership is a natural result, on the one hand, of bungling policies and, on the other hand, of the devious stand of the leading Communists toward their own members.

"The present FCP leadership is burdened by too many 'political turn-about's' and, as such, nothing will save it in the long run except a new purge among the ordinary rank and file."

The second letter pointed out contradictions in Pessi's statements regarding automation in a speech which he made at the recently concluded 12th Congress of the Finnish Communist Party. Pessi extolled automation in the USSR, claiming that through automation the country has enjoyed great progress and the workers are enjoying improved working conditions. In another part of his speech, the letter said, when Pessi discussed Finland he was critical of automation and maintained that additional pressures had been placed on workers through the increased speed in industrial production.

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V. NEAR EAST

Israel

1. New Propaganda Line for Israeli Arab Communists Differs From Usual Moscow Approach

The 27 April 1960 issue of the independent and very reliable daily Haaretz reported that leaders of the Israeli Communist Party have relinquished the nationalistic line pursued in the past among the Arab population and have adopted a new propaganda line aimed to regain ground which was lost during the last parliamentary elections. Principal spokesman of the new line is Tawfiq Tubi, member of the Central Committee and the Israeli parliament. Whereas the usual Moscow policy is to consider Arab affairs only in an over-all perspective, the new line calls for the organization of workers and the exploitation of employment and unemployment problems, income tax, land, and other internal matters, and calls for less attention to over-all Arab affairs, as a result of Nasir's changed attitude toward the Kremlin.

The paper also reported that Arab activists of the Israeli Communist Party are instructed not to become involved in discussions of over-all Arab affairs. During a recent meeting of the Central Committee, Tubi criticized Arab party activists for pursuing "a very shaky and controversial course which has no direct or immediate contact with the life of the workers." To carry out the new policy, the Central Committee will increase Tubi's control over the Communist Arabic-language press (al-Ittihad, which appears twice weekly). Haaretz further declared that officially Tubi is the editor of the Arabic organ, but the actual editor is Ts. Khamis.

2. Activities of Trotskyist Movement

Dr. M. Stein, chairman of the Israeli Trotskyist movement which is known as the "Third Force," and M. Zichrony, its secretary, have sent a letter to Dr Izzat Tannous, secretary-general of the Palestine Refugee Office, stating that the "degradation" of Israel's Arabs is "much more substantial and inhuman than the smearing of swastikas," according to the 22 April 1960 issue of the Jerusalem Post. This is the gist of a letter circulated in the UN on 21 April by Dr Tannous, who appears, according to the Jerusalem Post, as the self-styled spokesman of the Arab refugees when the refugee problem is discussed in the UN General Assembly.

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